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THE

CHRISTIAN MANUAL;

OR,

OF THE LIFE AND MANNERS OF TRUE CHRISTIANS.

BY

JOHN WOOLTON, D.D.;
BISHOP OF EXETER.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

FOR THE PUBLICATION

OF THE

WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED ENGLISH CHURCH.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC.LI.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

JOHN WOOLTON, or (as it is sometimes written) Wolton, was born at Wigan in Lancashire in the year 1535, *parentibus honestis, sed nobiliori matre*[1]. It seems to have been by his mother's side that he was a nephew of the justly celebrated Dean Nowel[2]; and with him, after spending some years at Oxford, as a student of Brasenose College, apparently without proceeding to any degree, he travelled in Germany during the persecutions of Mary's reign. After his return to England on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, little is heard of him till the year 1578; in which year, through the influence of Dean Nowel, a new charter was granted to the collegiate Church of Manchester, and Woolton was named the first Warden. This post however he occupied less than two years, as he was preferred to the bishoprick of Exeter in 1579, and consecrated by Archbishop Grindal at the beginning of August in that year. At the time

[1] Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. Comment.

[2] *Avunculum suum*, Godwin, ibid. who, being his son-in-law, is no doubt strictly accurate.

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of his advancement to the episcopate he was a canon residentiary of the same church[3]; and in Vowel's or Hooker's catalogue of the bishops of Exeter, published in that year, he is spoken of as "a Professor of Divinity, and a preacher of the Gospel, and universally seen in all good letters[4]." He appears to have been a strenuous opponent of the Puritans in the unhappy disputes which were then harassing the Church of England; but, apart from the unpopularity which this circumstance occasioned him with many, it seems that he was much respected for his conscientious zeal and diligence in his high office.

The account of his death (March 13, 159$\frac{3}{4}$) furnishes an interesting illustration of his character. His complaint was asthma; and two hours before his departure he was dictating a letter on important business, when being admonished to be careful of his health, he replied with an adaptation of the well-known words of the emperor Vespasian, that a bishop "ought to die standing[5]:" soon after which, as he was walking in his chamber, he suddenly fell, and expired in the arms of those who hastened to his support, at the age of 58.

[3] Antony Wood (Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 239) states that he was admitted to the church of Spaxton in the diocese of Wells, in 1563, "being about that time canon of Exeter," and that he was consecrated Bishop in 1575: but in p. 609 he gives the date of 1574 for this latter event, and again in the *Fasti*, p. 746, assigns it to 1579.

[4] Strype, Annals of Reformation. Fol. 1725. Book II. chap. 19. Vol. II. p. 611.

[5] See Suetonius, *Vespasian*, cap. 24.

The following is the list of his works, as given by Watt in his *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—

1. The Christian Manuell, or of the life and maners of true Christians. London. 1576. (See the full title infra, p. 2.)

2. An Armour of Proufe; very profitable as well for princes, noblemen and gentlemen, as all other in authoritie, shewing the firm fortress of defence and haven of rest in these troblesome times and perilous dayes. Lond. 1576. 8vo.

3. A Treatise of the Immortalitie of the Soule; wherein is declared the origine, nature and powers of the same, together with the state and condition thereof, both as it is conioyned and dissolved from the bodie. Lond. 1576. 16mo.

4. A Newe Anatomie of the whole Man, as well of his Bodie as of his Soule, declaring the condition and constitution of the same in his first creation, corruption, regeneration and glorification. Lond. 1576. 8vo.

5. The Castell of Christians and Fortress of the Faithfull besieged, and defended now almost sixe thousand yeares. Lond. 1577. 8vo.

To these Wood (Athen. Oxon.) adds:

6. Discourse of the Conscience. 8vo. 1576.

As the operations of the Parker Society are now drawing to a close, the present is intended to be the con-

cluding volume of the 12mo series. In this series of smaller books it has been designed to exhibit the spirit and principles of the Reformation in their various forms of developement, as they influenced the literature and character of the age. The first of these publications was an illustration of its devotional character; the second, of the poetical, as poetry lent its aid in furtherance of the great struggle for spiritual and intellectual emancipation; the third, of the directly spiritual and experimental working of religion; the fourth, of its controversial phase on a smaller scale; and the fifth and last, of the application of its principles to the practical duties of individual and social life. In all these different aspects they present a combined testimony to the power and value of the blessed Reformation.

THE

CHRISTIAN MANUAL.

THE CHRISTIAN Manuell, or of the life and maners of true *Christians.*

A treatise, wherein is plentifully declared, how needefull it is for the servaunts of God to manifest and declare to the world: their faith by their deedes, their words by their works, and their profession by their conversation.

Written by Jhon Woolton Minister of the Gospel, in the Cathedral Church of EXCETOR.

Imprinted at London by J. C. for *Thomas Sturruppe* dwelling in Paules Church yarde, at the signe of the George.

1576.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

SIR WILLIAM CORDELL, KNIGHT,

MASTER OF THE ROLLS,

JOHN WOOLTON WISHETH PROSPEROUS SUCCESS IN ALL WORLDLY AFFAIRS, AND IN THE LIFE TO COME JOY AND IMMORTAL FELICITY.

AMONGST those seven wise men of Greece, there was one that commended to his hearers this posy, "Follow God:" which sentence he willed them to have continually before their eyes, to the end that they might be stirred up with an earnest desire to know, love, and serve God, who is the last and perfect end of true wisdom. For whereas there be two principal parts of true wisdom, after the opinion of philosophers; the first, that a man should know himself; the second, that he should know God, wherein true felicity is (as it were a mark or goal) proposed and offered unto us: the wise man had good cause and great reason, in that pithy clause, to commend the last and perfect end of true wisdom unto his scholars and disciples.

A philosophical posy.

Two principal parts of wisdom.

The precept therefore is most commendable and profitable: but when he came to

The philosophers ignorant in the practice of their precept.

the action and execution of this imitation, the wise man swerved very much from that scope and mark which himself had purposed. He could not by his wisdom attain to the knowledge of God, neither find out the right way; neither yet had he any guide to lead him out of that deep darkness in the which he was more than drowned: whereby it came to pass, that he wandered miserably, sometime on the left hand, and sometime on the right hand, from God, whom he willed his disciples to follow. For the wisdom of this world is so weak and infirm, that it cannot bring man unto the fountain of goodness and felicity, even whose fruition is his right and perfect blessedness. Which thing is found true both by experience in all worldly wise men, and also by the testimony of St Paul, who speaketh out of God's mouth: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent." Although then the wise man gave a good precept, yet no man came to blessedness thereby; which thing should have comen to pass, if he had been able to point out the way unto his followers. This true wisdom the church of God only hath and knoweth. Whereof the same apostle speaketh after this manner: "For after that in the wisdom of God the world through their wisdom knew not God, it pleased God through foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." That is to say, because that men in the frame and workmanship of the world, wherein the singular wisdom of God is

Isai. xxix. xxxiii. 1 Cor. 1.

True wisdom is only in God's church.

1 Cor. i.

engraved and open to the eyes of men, did not know God; it pleased God of his free and infinite goodness to deliver unto the world his wisdom beforetime unknown, even the gospel of his Son Jesus Christ, whereby he purposed to save all believers, that they might thereby through grace attain to the perfect end of their condition, which, by reason of their corrupt nature through original sin, they could of themselves never come unto. Of this light spake the prophet David, saying, "In thy light shall we see light;" and Christ himself more plainly: "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not in any wise walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

Psal. xxxvi.

John viii.

In which sentence our Saviour Christ calleth his servants from the imitation of all others, and willeth them to set him before their eyes as a perfect pattern and absolute example for them to follow. The ancient writers and best expositors have well observed, that in the holy scripture Christ is proposed and set out as an example and rule to follow two manner of ways. First, they teach us that he is the author and giver of remission of sins, justice, life, and eternal salvation to all believers; which thing is so proper and peculiar unto him, that no part or portion thereof may be in any respect imparted unto others without manifest sacrilege and blasphemy: secondly, they describe him as an exquisite type and rule of a godly and christian life, framed after God's most holy law; which as he

Christ is a perfect example for us to follow in faith and life.

Christ an example in our life.

taught with mouth and voice, so did he fulfil the same in his own life, and proposed himself as an example to all those that would be accounted, and be in deed, Christians: whereof we have a plain testimony
John xiii. in the gospel of St John: "I have given you an example," saith Christ, "that you should do as I have done unto you."

That our heavenly Master was much unlike those whom St Paul describeth to
2 Tim. iii. "have a form of godliness, but deny the
Rom. ii. power thereof;" and again, "Thou knowest God's will, and allowest things that be excellent, and hast the form of knowledge and of the truth of the law: thou therefore which teachest another, teachest not thyself; and making thy boast of the law, through breaking of the law dishonourest God." But Christ said and did, taught and followed; to the end that all his scholars might learn to perform in work that which they profess in word. The apostles of Christ also, the best expositors of their master's will, as they always teach men to believe and trust in him, being the fountain and well-spring of justice and life, so do they everywhere urge them with earnest exhortations to follow his life and conversation. St Paul saith, that he "hath not
1 Thess. iv. called us to uncleanness and filthiness of life, but to holiness." Neither was he made
1 Cor. i. to believers wisdom and justice only, but also sanctification and redemption. For as by his wisdom and justice he hath expelled darkness, naturally bred in man's breast, and hath kindled the true light of the

knowledge of himself and his Father, and, forgiving our sins, doth adorn us with his own justice, wherewith we being covered and clothed please God his Father; even so doth he give unto us the Holy Ghost, who doth regenerate and renew our minds, whereby they do conceive holy desires and affections, which at the last are plentiful and fruitful in bringing forth good works. A godly life is always conjoined with a lively faith, in such sort that these two cannot be separate one from another, no more than light can be divided from the sun, or heat from the burning fire. For Christ, as the apostle saith, "gave himself for us to purge us a peculiar people to himself, zealous[1] of good works, and to redeem us from all iniquity." And if philosophers give rules and precepts of manners, not so much to make men learned, as to make them virtuous; how much more ought christian philosophy to proceed further, not only to put into men's minds the knowledge of piety and godliness, but also sanctimony and holiness itself! Every one therefore endued with a true faith ought to feel Christ so working in him by his holy Spirit, that he may say with the apostle, "Now live not I, but Christ liveth in me." And as the body endued with a living and reasonable soul receiveth, feeleth, and practiseth the actions thereof; so he that is engraffed in Christ, and is his member, cannot choose but be partaker of his Spirit, virtue, and holiness. Whereupon the apostolic

Tit. ii.

Christian philosophy most perfit.

Gal. ii.

[1 Reasons, Orig. Edit. of 1576.]

and catholic faith nameth the body or society of the church "the communion of saints:" plainly importing thereby, that those men only appertain to that society, who meditate and study how they may live well, and labour with all their might, that they may be that whereunto the apostle exhorteth the Thessalonians, "altogether sanctified, perfect in spirit, and such as may be blameless against the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." And all those that are otherwise affected, and frame not their life to that end, and yet desire to be named Christians, they dissent from themselves, and with their life argue their tongue of untruth and falsehood.

1 Thess. v.

Profession approved by conversation.

Moreover, a man's profession is not so much to be weighed by his tongue and talk, as by his deeds and life. The apostle speaketh of such impostors, saying: "They that profess themself to know God, but with their deeds they deny him." And that holy martyr St Cyprian hath a fine saying, that "the testimony of a man's life is more effectual than that of his tongue; and that works have after a sort their lively speech and eloquence, albeit the tongue be silent, and move never a deal[1]." And he that professeth with his mouth, and walketh contrary in his life, may right well be compared to an unwise builder, who layeth on mortar with the

Tit. i.

De zelo et livore et aliis locis.

[1 Doctorem quoque eum maximum in regno cœlorum vocari, qui fecerit et sic docuerit: tunc prædicanti profuturum quod bene atque utiliter prædicatum fuerit, si id quod ore promitur factis sequentibus impleatur.—Cypr. de Zel. et Liv. Opp. Oxon. 1700. p. 155.]

one hand, and pulleth down stones with the other. Of such kind of builders our Lord and master Christ speaketh after this manner: "Therefore whosoever heareth my sayings and doth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, because it was grounded upon a rock. And every one that heareth of me these sayings, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it," &c. St Augustine, speaking against carnal and lip-gospellers, saith thus: "In vain doth he assume the name of Christ, that followeth not Christ. To what purpose is it, if thou be called that which thou art not, and to usurp a strange name? But if thou delight in that name, then do those things which appertain to Christianity, and then thou mayest with good cause challenge the name of a Christian[2]."

Matt. vii.

In Lib. de Vita Christiana, qui falso ascribitur August

Now if we view Christians after this rule, if we examine men's daily life and conversation, and try the same with the touchstone of God's commandments, that number

The small number of perfit Christians.

[2] Quod nomen illud frustra sortitur, qui Christum minime imitatur. Quid enim tibi prodest vocari quod non es, nomen tibi usurpare alienum? Sed si Christianum te esse delectat, quæ Christi sunt gere, et merito tibi Christiani nomen assume.—De Vit. Christ. Lib. cap. i. inter August. Opp. Tom. IX. p. 361. Colon. Agripp. 1616.]

will appear small, and a true Christian will almost be as rare as a black swan upon the earth. For neither the negligent and voluptuous magistrate, nor the idle bishop, nor the cruel husband, nor the bitter wife, nor the careless father, nor the rebellious child, nor the merciless master, nor the unfaithful servant, with many other of that sort, cannot by any means be rightly named Christians. But those rather, even by the testimony of Christ himself, are so to be called, that "hear his word and keep it." And although our salvation issueth from God's grace and goodness, yet he requireth at our hands trust and confidence in him, a prompt and ready will to obey his word, diligence and industry in our vocation, prayer and invocation of his holy name, accepting our imperfect disobedience, and forgiving our infirmities for his Son Christ's sake. All those that then desire to be true Christians, ought to be sorry for their sins, to fly unto Christ, and to repose sure trust and confidence of salvation in the mercy of God through him, to bring forth worthy fruits of repentance, and to lead a life agreeable to the gospel. For those that be true Christians do always wrestle with vices, and fight with concupiscence and lust; they endeavour to bridle wicked affections; and, contemning earthly things, do bend and fix their minds upon heavenly things. Whereof Chrysostom writeth thus: "O Christian, thou art too delicate a soldier, if thou think to vanquish without battle, and to triumph without fight. Wherefore call to mind thy

The fruits of true Christians.

Matt. xii. Mark iii. Luke viii.

Chrysost. in Hom.

condition, and that warfare wherein thou hast professed thyself a soldier: which if thou do, then shalt thou well perceive, that all those worthy wights, whom thou dost so much esteem and reverence, have by fight and battle vanquished and triumphed[1]," &c.

The care and study of Christians.

And because true Christians cannot worthily requite Almighty God for his innumerable benefits, neither satisfy themselves in piety toward him; yet they are careful and endeavour, to their uttermost, never to alienate[2] God's grace and favour from them, neither to do that which will be displeasant unto his majesty: but contrariwise, through the aid of God's Spirit, they labour to do those things which are acceptable unto him, working their salvation with trembling and fear; and frame all their actions not so much after the liking of human reasons as after the prescript of God's holy will and commandment. And because in actions no man can determine what is good, unless he first know what is true; and for that the same cannot be otherwise had than from the mouth of God in his word; they turn over the holy bible, they study the monuments of the prophets and apostles, and meditate

[1 Unde tu, Christiane, delicatus es miles, si putas te posse sine pugna vincere, sine certamine triumphare.....Considera pactum, conditionem attende, militiam nosce,...cui nomen dedisti. Hoc enim pacto quos miraris cuncti pugnarunt, hac conditione universi vicerunt, hac militia omnes triumpharunt.—Chrysost. Opp. (Lat.) Paris. 1556. *De martyribus, quod aut imitandi aut non laudandi sunt, Sermo.* Tom. III. col. 834. D.]

[2 Alivate, 1576.]

God's law both day and night: whereby Christians only come unto the knowledge of the truth and understanding of God's will; which to know is perfit wisdom, which to do is true virtue, and wherein to continue is the only and eternal felicity. Those then that know not the will of God, as the ethnicks in times past, and Turks and Jews now-a-days, cannot have any sure and comfortable warrantise of their life and learning. For the Christians only, taught in God's school, know his will, and in all their life rather respect the same than their own will and reason, and repute it to be the greatest virtue to please and obey him, and to follow his precepts and commandments.

The repentance of Christians.

And if at any time, through human infirmity and weakness, they offend and slide awry; by and by they desire pardon and forgiveness of God through Christ, and apprehend by faith mercy promised in him, and comfort themselves with a quiet and cheerful mind in the same. Oh, happy is that man that so stayeth himself in an assured trust of God's mercy in Christ, that humbly and heartily agniseth[1] his faults and offences, that carefully endeavoureth to walk in newness and holiness of life. But Oh, most unhappy are those that wander in diffidence and distrust, that think too well of themselves, boasting with the Pharisees their acts and deeds, that neglect an honest and godly life; unto whom the Lord will say at the last day:

[1] Agniseth: acknowledgeth.]

"I never knew you; depart from me, you workers of iniquity, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." Whereas, on the other side, the true Christians shall hear that joyful speech: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. Come, ye blessed children of my Father, inherit the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world."

Matt. vii. et xxv.

Matt. xxv. Luke xix. et xxi.

Of the which two sorts of men, to wit, of false Christians in name and title only, and of true Christians in word and work, I have written more largely in this treatise following; which I thought good to present unto your worship, moved thereunto for divers and sundry causes: first, with the common and universal report of that great wisdom and justice, wherewith God hath endued you, by the one discerning between right and wrong, by the other putting the same in execution, in your office and calling: which is said by Cicero to be the lady and queen of all virtues; and of Aristotle, to be more beautiful and bright than the day-star itself. Secondly, in respect of that great care, which you have now a long time used, for the good estate of colleges and houses of learning in the university: which thing Plato said especially to belong unto a good magistrate, to provide that children born to common society should be well brought up for the common commodity. Thirdly, for that it

hath pleased God to appoint me the pastor and shepherd of men's souls in one of those manors, where the title and interest of temporal lords and livings, together with the regiment of men's manners in a civil life, is under the prince committed unto your worship; where the states of many of your poor tenants being tickle[1] and doubtful, yet you join pity and clemency with justice and equity: which, as that reverend father St Augustine writeth, "is the inheritance of children, the joy of the commons, and the comfort of the poor." And as no time in this world shall be able to consume this true honour and virtue of yours; so will not the same be unrewarded in that great day at the hands of the almighty and eternal God; who increase you in all honour and dignity. At Whymple, the 20 of November, Anno Dom. 1576.

Your worship's humble

JOHN WOOLTON.

[1 Tickle: ticklish, weak.]

A CHRISTIAN MANUAL.

The very name of a Christian is most beautiful and honourable, and the bare word carrieth a certain majesty: but as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ rebuked the Jews vainly vaunting of their father Abraham, "If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham;" so will he answer wicked men with sharp speech at the great day: If ye had been Christians, ye would have followed my example; "I never knew you, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity." And albeit we read that the apostles gave many excellent titles unto those that believed in Christ, embraced his gospel, and joined themselves to his church and congregation, as the name of "brethren," "saints," and "disciples;" yet at Antioch they obtained first that noble and royal name of CHRISTIANS; a title which in honour and dignity not only comprehendeth, but also far passeth all other styles and inscriptions.

The honour of the word Christian.

John viii.

Matt. vii.

Eusebius Pamphilus, commending christian faith and religion unto the world, extolleth the same not only for the reverend majesty, which the name importeth, but also for the antiquity and ancientness, as having been always since the creation of the world, and whereby only all holy men have pleased God, and attained to everlasting felicity. Whose sentence and judg-

The foundation of christian religion was laid long before Christ's incarnation.

ment may happily seem strange to some simple and unlearned persons, carried with that vain opinion, that christian religion did first begin in the days of Tiberius Cæsar; moved, as it is likely, with St Luke his gospel, where it is written, that John the Baptist began to preach in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; and also, because histories generally almost consent that Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, was crucified the eighteenth year of the same emperor.

Luke iii.

Christ's treasures more plainly opened after his incarnation.

It cannot verily be denied, but that all prophecies were complete and true salvation perfected in that time. And it must needs be granted, that Christ's most precious treasures were then opened and communicated unto the world more plainly and plentifully than ever before. Yet the same salvation was shadowed long before by the prophets, and promised unto the fathers in Christ Jesus: where it came to pass, that they did foresee in their spirit Christ to come, and, as we now do, put their whole trust and confidence in him only. These things are proposed, offered, and exhibited indeed most absolutely and clearly unto us under the new Testament, and in the time of grace; which they under the law had in hope, and that certain, albeit somewhat more obscurely than we now have, and looked for the same with most constant and ardent minds. The words of Eusebius, touching this matter, are as followeth.

Isai. ix. 1 Pet. i.

"Now, lest any man should think that Christ's doctrine is strange, or lately devised

of some new-fangled fellow, we mean to write of this matter somewhat more largely. Whereas now a good space the coming and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ began to shine as it were to the world, a new nation and profession sprung up, not few in number, nor weak in strength; not shut up in a corner of the world, but gathered of all countries; who in serving and honouring of God were most zealous and religious, obtaining the name of Christians. Which thing was spoken of before by one of the prophets: 'Who ever heard or saw,' saith he, 'any such things? Doth the ground bear in one day? or are the people born all at once, as Sion travaileth in childbirth, and beareth her sons?' And in another place: 'Then shall the Gentiles see thy righteousness break forth as the shining light, and their salvation as a burning lamp: thou shalt be named with a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall shew.' Therefore making a supputation upward, even from Abraham unto the first man Adam; albeit they had not in very letters the bare name, yet in effect and truth they were Christians. For in four years after Christ's ascension, the disciples obtained the name of Christians. Now if the name of a Christian importeth one that believeth in Christ, and that pursueth faith, piety[1] and justice by his word, surely the holy patriarchs were such men, and therefore to be accounted amongst the number of Christians[2]." Hitherto Eusebius.

Isai. lxvi.

Isai. lxii.

Acts xi.

[1 pity, 1576.]
[2 Ἵνα μὴ δὲ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ νέαν εἶναι

The name Christian given by God.

Acts xi.

But touching the word *Christians*, it may be gathered by that which hath been spoken before, that the faithful were so named first at Antioch, because they professed Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God. And although that may seem to have come to pass by an imitation of the philosophers, who were divided into divers sects, and received names after their masters; yet no doubt this name was given to the faithful by the inspiration of God's Spirit,

καὶ ξένην, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ νέου καὶ μηδὲν τῶν λοιπῶν διαφέροντος ἀνθρώπων συστᾶσαν, ὑπονοήσειέ τις, φέρε βραχέα καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλάβωμεν. ἄρτι μὲν ὁμολογουμένως τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ παρουσίας νεωστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλαμψάσης, νέον ὁμολογουμένως ἔθνος οὐ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενὲς, οὐδ' ἐπὶ γωνίας πηγῆς ἱδρυμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπότατόν τε καὶ θεοσεβέστατον, ταύτῃ τε ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀήττητον, ᾗ καὶ ἐσαεὶ τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ βοηθείας τυγχάνει, χρόνων προθεσμίαις ἀῤῥήτοις ἀθρόως οὕτως ἀναπέφηνε, τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίᾳ τετιμημένον. τοῦτο καὶ προφητῶν κατεπλάγη τις θείου πνεύματος ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προθεωρήσας, ὡς καὶ τάδε ἀναφθέγξασθαι· Τίς ἤκουσε τοιαῦτα; καὶ τίς ἐλάλησεν οὕτως; εἰ ὤδινε γῆ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ εἰ ἐτέχθη ἔθνος εἰσάπαξ. ὑποσημαίνει δέ πως καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὁ αὐτὸς προσηγορίαν, λέγων· Τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσί μοι κληθήσεται ὄνομα καινὸν, ὃ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ..... πάντας δὲ ἐκείνους δικαιοσύνῃ μεμαρτυρημένους, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἄνθρωπον, ἔργῳ Χριστιανοὺς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι, προσειπών τις οὐκ ἂν ἐκτὸς βάλοι τῆς ἀληθείας. ὃ γάρ τοι δηλοῦν ἐθέλει τοὔνομα τὸ Χριστιανοῦ, ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καρτερίᾳ τε βίου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνδρίᾳ εὐσεβείας τε ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ διαπρέπειν, τοῦτο πᾶν ἐκείνοις οὐ χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἐσπουδάζετο.—Eccles. Hist. Euseb. Lib. 1. cap. 4, fol. 4, 5. Lut. Par. 1544.]

the doctor and guider of his church. For after the gospel was carried out of the borders of Jewry, and spread itself far abroad, the faithful rejoiced in this name, as it may appear by the saying of king Agrippa, moved with St Paul's oration, "Thou dost almost persuade me to be a Christian;" and St Peter, "See that none of you be punished as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evildoer, or as a busybody in other men's matters. If any man suffer as a christian man, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf."

Acts xxvi.

1 Pet. iv.

The wicked men were carried with a wonderful malice and hatred against this name. Tertullus, that prating sycophant, termed odiously the profession of the gospel, The heresy of the Nazarites. And it appeareth by Justin the Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius, and such like, the very profession of this name was accounted a thing worthy of condemnation; and the denial of the same obtained absolution: as though the name carried with it an offence, to be continued or deposed with the same. Which was nothing else but a blind furor in those whose eyes Satan, the god of this world, had put out, so that they could not see the clear light; neither consider, as Athenagoras wittily answered, That "names are not worthy hatred, but the fact and fault[1]:" or, as Jus-

The name was hateful to the wicked. Acts xxiv.

[1 οὐδὲν δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ οὔτε πονηρὸν οὔτε χρηστὸν νομίζεται, διὰ δὲ τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἢ πονηρὰς ἢ ἀγαθὰς πράξεις ἢ φλαῦρα ἢ ἀγαθὰ δοκεῖ.—Athenag. Athen. Philos. Christ. Apol. pro Christianis. Paris. 1636. p. 3.]

tinus the Martyr writ, "That the bare name ought neither to procure credit nor discredit[1]." Such was the opinion of profane men of the name *Christian*, even the green herb and first spring of the gospel.

The effect or working of this name.

But the sense and judgment of the godly was far otherwise: who accounted no name or title more reverend and honourable. They were persuaded that this name was invented and given by God himself; partly for a difference between them of the old and new Testament, and partly to kindle and inflame their faith in Christ, being by the remembrance and recital of the very name moved to be thankful for his unspeakable benefits. For every man ought to consider with himself, that he hath the name of a Christian, because he is engraffed in Christ, as the branch in the stock, or as the member in the head; and so to receive of his moistness and life, and to be partaker of his benefits. For there is no other word, that doth more significantly express the entire conjunction which is between Christ and his church (which is lively set out in the parable of the marriage, whereby we are said to be "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone"), as doth the word *Christian*.

Ephes. v.

1 Pet. ii. 5.

As soon as we hear that sweet sound, we call to memory, that we are made a lively "priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices." So that this word is as it were a sacrament

[1 Ὀνόματος μὲν οὖν προσωνυμία οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν κρίνεται ἄνευ τῶν ὑποπιπτουσῶν τῷ ὀνόματι πράξεων.—Just. Mart. Apol. I. Opp. Par. 1742. p. 45.]

assuring all professors of the gospel of the accomplishment of that holy unction, whereof David maketh mention: for God is good and true, and doth not deceive them that put their trust in him. And he gave the name of Christ to his only-begotten Son, and answered the same in deed: he anointed him "with the oil of gladness above his fellows." He therefore hath also anointed us his fellows, heirs, and brethren with the same oil; albeit not so plentifully as their elder Brother. Psal. cxli.

The title therefore is honourable and comfortable, as all those right well perceive that have any taste and feeling of God's mysteries. What a sweet speech of God is this: "Touch not my Christs!" Doth he not plainly declare that he dearly loveth those whom he adorneth with that name? Surely St Hierome thinketh this to be that name, which the living God by the mouth of his prophet promised to give his servant, that in place of the manifold names of Israel, Ephraim, Joseph, Jacob, they should be called Christians[2]. Howsoever therefore this name hath been contemned and hated of profane men; yet amongst the servants of God it hath always been accounted most honourable, and preferred to all other titles. St Hierome writing to Furia, happening to make mention of her father, addeth expressly, that he honoured him more for the Psal. cv. Isai. lxv. A poor Christian is more honourable than an heathen prince. Hieron. ad Furiam.

[2 Nomen autem novum sive aliud nullum est, nisi quod ex Christi nomine derivatur, ut nequaquam vocetur populus Dei Jacob, et Judas, et Israel, et Ephraim, et Joseph, sed Christianus.—Hieron. in Esai. cap. lxv. 15. Opp. T. IV. p. 218. Antverp. 1578.]

name of a Christian, than because he had either been a senator or a consul[1].

The name of a Christian may not be blemished with wicked deeds.

But we ought always to use this concord, that we be in deed such men as we would be accounted and called. For the very name doth admonish men, not only of their honour and dignity, but also of their office and duty. And as by sacraments, which St Augustine calleth visible words[2], men are put in mind of their calling; even so are Christians by that name admonished of their parts and functions. And as the unworthy partakers of sacraments receive the same to their own damnation; even so those that usurp this noble name, and perform it not in their living and manners, shall feel the heavy hand of God for their presumption and wickedness. Whereof St

Rom. ii.

Paul rendereth a reason, saying, "For the name of God is evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles through you;" and the prophet,

Isai. lii.

"My name is always blasphemed;" and in

Ezek. xxxvi.

another place, "They came unto the Gentiles, and profaned my name amongst them;" and again, "My name is great amongst the Gentiles, but you have profaned it." In which place the people are charged with two great offences: first, that they made God as a reproach; secondly, that they

[1 Pater tuus, quem honoris causa nomino, non quia consularis et patricius, sed quia Christianus est. —Hieron. ad Furiam, de Vid. Serv. cap. 2. Opp. T. I. p. 30.]

[2 Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum etiam ipsum, tanquam visibile verbum.—August. in Joann. Evang. Tract. 80. Opp. Tom. IX. p. 159. Colon. Agripp. 1616.]

abused his name and law, wherewith in his mercy he vouchsafed to honour them. Whereby we may easily perceive, what an heinous offence it is to brag and boast of the name of Christians and of the word of God, and yet in daily violating and transgressing the same to profane God's name amongst the people; which is no other thing but to play and dally with his reverend name and majesty. This is nothing else but the subtle practice of our enemy the devil, who by his sleights and temptations bringeth it to pass, that those things which should serve to God's glory and our own salvation, we by profanation and abuse convert to our own destruction. Which thing we see too often verified in these our sinful times, whiles many lip-gospellers and protestants have commonly in their mouths Jesus Christ his gospel and faith, and yet so live that the name of Christ and his gospel is evil spoken of.

Christians always of two sorts.

But this grievous accusation of carnal gospellers is ancient and general, used as we see by the prophets against the Jews, and by the apostles against the Gentiles: so that we may easily thereby gather, that the professors of God and true religion have been always of two sorts, Christians in title and name only, and Christians in words and works: between whom there is no small or obscure difference. For the former sort bend all their study and endeavours to cherish their carnal carcass, and desire to excel others in honour, wealth, riches, power, authority, and dignity; neither are they

led with any fear of God to bridle and restrain their filthy desires and concupiscences, but in their whole life do run headlong into all mischief, and, as the apostle saith, being yet alive, are "dead in their sins and trespasses." The second sort, led with the Holy Spirit, seek God with all their heart, and, lifting up their souls to him, covet heavenly things, and contemn earthly things: their chief care is not for riches, honour, and worldly glory; but they put off the old man, and clothe themselves with the new man: they die to sin, and live to righteousness; or at the least do not suffer original sin and corruption to rule in their mortal bodies.

Ephes. ii.

Rom. xiii. Gal. iii. iv. Ephes. iv. Rom. vi.

A difference between false and faithful Christians.

Of this difference between the carnal man and the spiritual, or between the false and faithful Christian, that ancient father Irenæus writeth excellently: whose words, being somewhat prolix and long, I have in sum and effect gathered. "Those," saith he, "that bear the earnest and pledge of God's Spirit, renouncing the flesh, and submitting themselves unto the Spirit, are aptly called by the apostle spiritual. But those that profess themselves believers in God, and yet never meditate his word, nor clothe themselves with the works of righteousness, but, like swine and dogs, give over themselves to all sensuality and wickedness, are called of the apostle carnal; of the prophets, beasts; and in the law, unclean things: and Christ himself pronounceth such men dead already: 'Let the dead,' saith he, 'bury the dead:' for they

Iren. Lib. v.

have not God's Spirit quickening them[1]." We see then that false Christians and carnal gospellers have been always from the beginning of Christ's church. And now-a-days all men brag and boast of faith, but few declare it in godly life and conversation. All of us would be named and accounted Christians, which very name should stay us from violating God's holy law; but few of us frame our lives after Christ's example. We "confess God in word," as the apostle saith, "but in deeds we deny him," and cause his name to be evil spoken of amongst the nations. For how can the Turks be persuaded to think well of christian religion, when they behold us by[2] committing manifest idolatry? or how can they

[1 Qui ergo pignus Spiritus habent, et non concupiscentiis carnis serviunt, sed subjiciunt semet ipsos Spiritui, ac rationabiliter conversantur in omnibus, juste Apostolus spirituales vocat, quoniam Spiritus Dei habitat in ipsis. . . . . Qui enim sunt tales, in Patrem quidem et Filium dicunt se credere, nunquam autem meditantur eloquia Dei, quemadmodum oportet, neque justitiæ operibus sunt adornati; sed, quemadmodum prædiximus, porcorum et canum assumpserunt vitam, immunditiæ et gulæ et reliquæ incuriæ semet ipsos tradentes. Juste igitur tales omnes, qui propter suam incredulitatem et luxuriam non adipiscuntur divinum Spiritum, et variis characteribus ejiciunt se vivificans verbum, et in suis concupiscentiis irrationabiliter ambulant, Apostolus quidem carnales et animales vocavit: prophetæ autem jumenta et feras dixerunt; consuetudo autem pecora et irrationabiles interpretata est: Lex autem immundos enuntiavit. . . . . Propter hoc autem et mortui tales dicti sunt a Domino: "Sinite" enim, inquit, "mortuos sepelire mortuos suos;" quoniam non habent Spiritum vivificantem hominem.—Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. v. capp. viii. ix. pp. 445, 6. Lut. Par. 1675.]

[2 Either *by* must be omitted, or something is lost before it.]

favour our profession, which we deface with our wicked and abominable behaviour?

The Turks hate us for some gross opinions.

There is nothing that hath so greatly incensed, and kindled the immortal malice and deadly fiend of the Saracens and Turks against Christians, as the presumptuous and manifest breaking of the second commandment, in making and worshipping of idols and dumb images, and in teaching the impanation of God, and that capernatical opinion in devouring of him. Aristotle, being very godless in many things, yet could he not abide that God should be represented with any corporal likeness[1]. The Turks and Saracens cannot bear any image in their synagogues[2]; and, as some write, have appointed great punishment for the carvers and makers of the same. And even so they have detested that opinion of carnal and real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and have abhorred from peace and society in religion with the Christians, for that also amongst other causes. For, as Cicero writeth, "Who is so witless to believe that to be God which he eateth[3]?"

In Metaph.

Simon Paulus in Meth. locorum com.

De Nat. Deorum, Lib. iii.

[1 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ἤδη, κ.τ.ἐ. . . . ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τε γὰρ τούτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁμοίους τισὶ λέγουσι, κ.τ.ἐ.—Aristot. Metaphys. Lib. xi. cap. 8. fin.]

[2 Imperator Turcicus Solimannus aliquando ex legato imperatoris Romani Caroli V. quæsivit, quisnam esset Lutherus. Cum is responderet taxare eum multos impios cultus, et præcipue eum reprehendere idola pontificia, invocationes hominum mortuorum, a quibus omnino abhorrent Turci, &c.—Methodi aliquot locorum Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Dei illustratæ, &c. Per Simonem Pauli Suerinensem. Secunda Pars. Magdeburgi. 1573. Method. xx. p. 191.]

[3 Ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud,

And Averrois, because the Christians eat that God whom they worship: "My soul shall be with the philosophers[4]." He conceived by means of that gross doctrine of Rome, that the Lord's supper was like Polyphemus' banquet, foaming with red blood about men's mouths. For so Nicolas the bishop of Rome compelled Berengarius with bloody words to recant and confess, that the body of Christ is handled and broken sensually, and bruised with the teeth: which words the gloss misliketh, and admonisheth the reader to understand the same warily, lest he fall into a greater error than Berengarius held[5].

Averrois in 12 Metaph.

The recantation of Berengarius in Conc. Vere. In Decret. de Consecr. Dist. 2. Ego Bereng. Gloss. Decret.

And as the heathen have misliked our religion by reason of such gross and absurd opinions, so have they been more and more alienated from the same by reason of the dissolute and filthy life of such as desired

The corrupt life of Christians hath made some contemn their religion.

quo vescatur, credat Deum esse?—Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. III. cap. xvi.]

[4 Averroe, Translatio et Notæ in libros Aristot. Metaphys. Patavii, 1483.]

[5 Ego Berengarius, &c. . . . . Consentio autem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ sedi, et ore et corde profiteor de sacramento Dominicæ mensæ eandem fidem me tenere, quam dominus et venerabilis papa Nicolaus et hæc sancta synodus auctoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit, mihique firmavit: scilicet panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. III. Pars. De Consecr. Dist. 2. can. 42.

Dentibus. Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim quam ipse habuit.—Gloss. in loc.]

to be accounted the principal and chief amongst Christians. And here it is worthy to be noted, what "befel to Innocentius the fourth bishop of Rome; who by embassadors moved the great prince of Tartary, named Batus, to cease from the cruel persecution of Christians, to acknowledge God the creator of all things, and to receive christian religion. The Tartarian, as they say, when he had demissed the bishop's embassadors, sent his own to Rome and other cities of Italy, to search the form of their belief, the manners and conversation of Christians: who at their return brought him word, that they were an idle people, wicked in life, and worshipped they knew not what images, so much disagreeing from the doctrine they did profess, that they appeared rather to be a flocking together of beasts than an assembly of men. At which report the Tartarian straightway received the Saracens, who easily persuaded him to neglect Christ, and to receive into his dominions the abominable religion of Mahomet, as a mistress of manners [1]."

Ex Ferr. Mont. de Republ. Lib. iv.

The corrupt life of the papists in Rome.

O great wickedness and ingratitude, worthy destruction! That which our Saviour Christ menaced unto the cities, which contemned his divine miracles, wholesome doctrine, and would not repent, shall fall upon such profaners of God's name at the last day: "It shall be more tolerable for

The punishment of lip-gospellers.

Matt. xi. Luke x.

[1 "A Woorke of Ioannes Ferrarius Montanus, touchynge the good orderynge of a common-weale. Englished by William Bauande, Lond. 1559." Book iv. Chap. iii. fol. 63.]

Sodom and Gomorra at the day of judgment, than for you." O dear brethren, let us not with like thanks quit Almighty God for his great benefits bestowed upon us in these our days; as for the glad tiding of our salvation, so plainly and plentiful[ly] uttered by the restitution of his holy word. Let us remember that when we lay drowned in our sins, and were not able to lift up ourselves, God of his mere mercy saved us in his Son Jesus Christ; and, to bring the same to pass, he gave his only and most dearly-beloved Son to the vile and shameful death of the cross. His goodness and favour was so great toward us, that he chose us, and predestinated us to be inheritors of his eternal life, before the beginning of the world. Let us be moved with these his incomprehensible benefits, to live in this world honestly and godly: for he hath not done these great things for us, that we should still wallow and tumble in wickedness. When Aulus Fulvius had taken his own son as he was running to the camp of rebellious Catilina, and commnaded him to be executed with death; "I," quoth he, "begat thee not to serve Catilinæ, but thy country[2]." Even so God hath regenerated us from sin, not that we should henceforth come into the same again; but that we should die to sin, and live to righteousness.

A. Fulvius.

Let us then, in every of our vocations, rejoice in that "faith, which worketh through love:" let our faith, as St James saith, be "made perfect with works: for as the

Gal. v.

James ii.

[2 Vid. Sallust. Bell. Catil. cap. 40.]

body without the spirit is dead, even so faith without works is dead." In that he would have us to make perfit our faith by works, he meaneth, as St Augustine and Aquinas expound it, that we should declare ourselves to the world to be justified by our works, and by the fruits to testify abroad that we have a lively faith[1].

August. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xxix. Aquinas in 2 cap. Jacobi.

For although we are justified before God freely, without works, either going before or coming after, through and for the merits of Jesus Christ only our mediator, which we apprehend by faith; yet the immutable will of our God is, that all justified men should walk in a new obedience, doing those works that are acceptable to God, beautifying their profession with a virtuous conversation. But because in these latter days charity waxeth cold, and iniquity everywhere aboundeth; those preachers and writers cannot choose but lightly please God and good men, that press the world to wear their badges, and to shew forth as it were their passport in this their peregrination, in eschewing vice and following virtue, albeit neither merit nor justification nor salvation came thereby.

Men ought to shew good works as tokens of their faith.

2 Tim. iii.

For, as St Paul writeth, these are "the

[1 Ita multa multitudo dulcedinis ejus, hoc est lex fidei, caritas ejus conscripta in cordibus atque diffusa, perficitur sperantibus in eum, ut anima sanata, non timore pœnæ, sed amore justitiæ, operetur bonum.—August. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xxix. fin. Opp. Tom. III. p. 279. Colon. Agrip. 1616.

(Et ex operibus) s. sequentibus fidem (Fides consummata est) id est, augmentata et comprobata et ostensa.—Thom. Aquin. in Canon. Epist. Comment. in Jacob. ii. Paris. 1543. fol. 25.]

days which are perilous, and men love themselves; having a shew of godliness, but have denied the power thereof." Wherefore, to the end that the effectual causes may be known which may stir men to piety[2], virtue, and innocency of life, I have thought good to comprehend in this treaty the duties of every vocation and calling, and as[3] virtues, which as ornaments and precious stones do beautify and garnish the same. But before I come particularly to every estate and condition, I judge it most convenient to put down in few words the causes and commodities of good works, so much the rather, for that I said before, that works do not deserve neither merit justification nor salvation: whereby my readers may haply be discouraged from that whereunto I bend all my study, to move and inflame them, or at the least to leave [no] occasion to the papists to cry out with open mouths, that our doctrine is a doctrine of licentiousness and liberty.

The effect of this work.

What we teach and think of good works, those homilies written in our English tongue of salvation, faith, and works, by that light and martyr of Christ's church, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, do plain testify and declare; which are built upon so sure a foundation, that no sycophant can deface them, nor sophister confute them, while the world shall endure: unto whom I remit the reader desirous of an absolute discourse in this matter. As for the reproachful speeches of the papists,

Cranmer, his Homilies.

[2] pity, 1576.] [3] Perhaps *all*.]

who cry out and say, that the position, *Only faith justifieth*, is impious, blasphemous, and new, never used of any evangelist, apostle, or doctor of Christ's church, and very pernicious, because it excludeth good works, and ministereth occasion to licence and liberty; all this, I say, I might answer in one word, as Cicero said, *Pro Cluentio, Magnum et impudens mendacium*[1], "They are impudent slanders, and untruths;" (for my purpose at this time is rather to instruct than to convince:) yet I will shortly put down what all godly men think in this matter.

The doctrine of faith justifying expounded.

Good works not rejected.

A similitude, declaring how faith apprehendeth justification.

And first: Whereas many take offence with this proposition, which we preach and teach, That men are justified by faith only in Christ; it is because they do not understand our doctrine in that behalf. For we mean nothing less than to reject or take away good works and honest actions; but we only exclude confidence and trust in men's works, which have no place at all in justification. And that dignity is ascribed to faith, because it is as it were an instrument to apprehend Christ; and is much like a conduit-pipe, whereby, as by a mean, the water of life, that is, justice in Christ, is conveyed and communicated unto us: by whose merits we have remission and forgiveness of sins, and are adopted and made the children of God. Faith by her own dignity and worthiness doth not demerit justice and righteousness; but receiveth and embraceth the same offered unto

[1 Cic. pro Cluent. 168.]

us in the gospel: so that in the free mercy of God, and merits of Christ, who in shedding of his precious blood, hath made satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, we ought to repose all our trust and confidence.

But our adversaries object, saying: If you do not exclude the promises, why do you say that *faith only* justifieth? And they add: Let faith justify, in God's name, so that you say not *faith only* justifieth. Whereunto we answer: That we speak after the usual manner, without device of new terms and phrases, following the authority of the brightest lights that have since Christ's time shined in the church. For the words of Christ our master, and of his apostles, carry the same with great efficacy and force in sense; albeit in form of words and stamp of letter they have it not. Christ himself, speaking to the sinful woman, saith, "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace:" and to Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue, "Fear not; believe only, and she shall be made whole:" and to the blind man, "Receive thy sight; thy faith hath saved thee." And St Paul, "Where is the rejoicing? it is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay, but by the law of faith. Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law." And again: "We know that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ." And again: "By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast."

The objection of the adversary.

The proof of this doctrine out of the scripture.

Matt. ix. Luke viii.

Luke xviii.

Rom. iii.

Gal. ii.

Eph. ii.

The consent of the fathers. Origen. Lib. iii. ad Rom.

Besides this, that phrase is usual and common in the works of ancient writers. For we find in Origen: "He saith unto the woman, by no works of the law, but by faith only, thy sins are forgiven thee[1]." And St Hierome: "God justifieth us by faith only[2]." And St Ambrose: "All ceremonies are taken away, and we are justified by faith only[3]." And again: "Grace is so given in Christ Jesus, that whosoever believeth in him should be saved without works, receiving remission of sins by faith only[4]." And Theodoretus: "Neither have we gotten these heavenly blessings by our own merits, but by faith only[5]." And Giselbertus: "What should we conjecture of

Hieron. in Rom. x. Ambr. in Rom. viii.

Idem in 1 Cor. i.

Theod. ii. 7. de Sacri.

[1 Jesus autem dixit ad eum parabolam quingentorum vel quinquaginta denariorum, et ex nullo legis opere sed pro sola fide ait ad eam, Remittuntur tibi peccata tua; et iterum, Fides tua te salvam fecit, vade in pace.—Orig. Opp. in Scriptur. Comm. Basil. 1571. Tom. II. p. 504.]

[2 Ignorantes quod Deus ex sola fide justificat.—Hieron. in Rom. x. ver. 3. Opp. Tom. VIII. p. 190. Antverp. 1578.]

[3 The passage does not appear on the 8th chapter: perhaps the following is meant: Gentilem dicit hominem pro certo haberi quod justificetur credens, nulla faciens opera legis, id est, sine circumcisione, aut neomeniis, aut veneratione sabbati.—Ambros. Opp. Comment. in Rom. iii. v. 28. Tom. v. p. 188. Basil. 1555.]

[4 Quæ gratia sic data est in Christo Jesu, quia hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum salvus sit sine opere, sola fide gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum.—Id. in 1 Corinth. i. v. 4. ibid. p. 24.]

[5 *οὐ γὰρ δὴ δι' ἔργων ἀξιεπαίνων, ἀλλὰ διὰ μόνης πίστεως τῶν μυστικῶν τετυχήκαμεν ἀγαθῶν.*—Theod. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. vii. Tom. IV. p. 587.]

their salvation, that died before the eighteenth[6] day? We must believe that they were saved by faith only." And St Bernard: "I confess myself either to understand aright, or to be deceived, with those who think that faith only is able to save a man[7]." And St Augustine, who was St Ambrose his scholar, and a diligent reader of the old writers, saith: "If justice came by the law, therefore Christ died in vain: but if he died not in vain, the sinful man is justified by him alone, to whom believing faith is imputed unto righteousness[8]."

Bernardus Epist. 77.

De Natura et Gra. cap. i.

Many other authorities are cited by that famous man P. Martyr; and yet he hath not gathered all which might be alleged to this purpose. But amongst the ancient writers there is none that hath written more earnestly of this matter than Chrysostom. "I am able," saith he, "to shew a faithful man that hath lived and comen to the kingdom of heaven without works: but never did any man, at any time, obtain life without faith. The thief believed only,

In hom. de Fide et Lege Naturæ.

[6 Most probably an error for the *eighth*. But as the Editor has not found the passage either in the *Disputatio Judæi cum Christiano* (ap. Anselm.), or the *De Altercatione Ecclesiæ et Synagogæ* (ap. August.), it cannot certainly be determined.]

[7 Cum his (Augustino et Ambrosio), inquam, me aut errare aut sapere fateor, credens et ipse sola fide hominem posse salvari.—Bern. Epist. 77. Opp. Lut. Par. 1640. col. 1458.]

[8 *Nam si per legem justitia, ergo gratis Christus mortuus est:* si autem non gratis mortuus est, in illo solo justificatur impius, cui credenti in eum qui justificat impium deputatur fides ad justitiam.—August. de Nat. et Grat. cap. i. Tom. VII. p. 278. Col. Agripp. 1616.]

and was justified of the merciful God[1]." Neither is their reply to any purpose, that he wanted time to work righteousness: the controversy is not in that point. But this I constantly affirm, that faith only saveth. For if he had lived yet longer, and had neglected good works, he should have fallen from salvation. Surely St Ambrose hath excellently set out this our justification by faith only in Christ by an example of the blessing of Jacob: for as Jacob deserved not the birthright, but, hiding himself in the habit of his elder brother, and clothed with his apparel, which gave a sweet scent, did insinuate himself to his father, and for his gain feigned himself another person, and so obtained the blessing; even so it behoveth us to lie hid under the hem of Christ's vesture, that by him we may be justified in God's sight. But because the words carry with them an especial comfort, I thought to express them, which are as follows: "In that Isaac did smell the sweet odour of the garments, happily the meaning may be, that we are not justified by works, but by faith: for man's carnal infirmity is an impediment to our works; but the fair whiteness of faith hideth the error of our deeds, which procureth pardon for our offences[2]."

Lib. ii. de Jacob. et Vita beata, cap. 2.

[1 ἄνευ πίστεως τὸν ἐργαζόμενον ἔργα δικαιοσύνης οὐ δύνῃ παραστῆσαι ζήσαντα, ἄνευ δὲ ἔργων τὸν πιστὸν δύναμαι δεῖξαι καὶ ζήσαντα καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα. οὐδεὶς ἄνευ πίστεως ἔζησεν· ὁ δὲ λῃστὴς πιστεύσας μόνον ἐδικαιώθη.—De Fid. et Leg. Natur. (ascribed to Chrysostom) Opp. Par. 1718-38. Tom. I. p. 826.]

[2 *Et odoratus est odorem vestimentorum ejus.* Et

If then in so many testimonies they cannot content themselves, but continue their severe censures over our phrases; let them condemn the ancient writers of the same fault: and, if they list, let them set Christ, his apostles, and the fathers of the primitive church to school for such speeches. If there be any inconvenience therein, we have learned and received the same from them.

Now when we have made the people acquainted with the phrase used in effect by our chief Master Jesus Christ, and in very form of letters by the best and most sincere writers[3] and expositors of the holy scripture; and told them that this dignity of justification is not of faith itself, but by virtue of the object which it respecteth, to wit, Christ; and that is not the work of man, but the gift of God[4]; we call upon them for good life, and tell them again and again, that faith will not nor cannot be a barren mother, but, as Chrysostom divinely calleth

August. Enchir. ad Lau. cap. 31. et Eccles. Dog. cap. 42.

Eph. ii. 2 Thess. ii.

fortasse illud est, quia non operibus justificamur, sed fide: quoniam carnalis infirmitas operibus impedimento est; sed fidei claritas factorum obumbrat errorem, quæ meretur veniam delictorum.—Ambros. de Jacob. et Vita Beat. Lib. II. cap. 2. fin. Opp. Paris. 1836. Tom. I. p. 313.]

[3 Written, 1576.]

[4 Et ne ipsam saltem fidem sic sibi homines arrogarent, ut non intelligerent divinitus esse donatam, ...hic quoque adjunxit atque ait: *Et hoc non ex vobis, sed Dei donum est; non ex operibus, ne forte quis extollatur.*—August. Opp. Enchirid. ad Laur. cap. xxxi. Tom. III. p. 62. And see ibid. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. xlii. p. 331. But this latter work is not Augustine's.]

her, the nurse of all good deeds and actions, and working always through charity[1].

We say that faith cannot be in that man that liveth ungodly, and walloweth in wickedness against his own conscience; and that neither murderers, nor thieves, nor adulterers, nor covetous persons, nor proud men, nor drunkards, without repentance can enter into the kingdom of God. And

Against an hypocritical faith.

whereas the believers, as St John saith, "overcome the world;" such as persevere in wickedness are not conquerors thereof, and therefore there can be no faith in them, but a kind of hypocrisy and a vain dream of faith only: and finally, that faith is lame and unperfect, if honest actions, good life and conversation be wanting. But we exclude only from good works hope of demeriting, justification, and propitiation for sins, which cometh unto men by faith only in Jesus Christ, and that by the free mercy of God, without any worthiness on man's part.

An answer to the objection of the papist touching liberty of life.

As touching liberty and licentiousness of life, whereof they complain, and impute the occasion to the word of God, so plentifully preached unto the world; one of their objections is too true, whereof we complain as earnestly as they: the other is utterly untrue and slanderous. For it cometh to pass by the mere malice of the devil, that our hearers walk not in that path which out of the monuments of the

[1 ἀπὸ δὲ πίστεως εἰλικρινοῦς ἡ ἀγάπη τίκτεται· ὁ γὰρ ὄντως εἰς Θεὸν πιστεύων οὐκ ἀνέχεταί ποτε ταύτην ἀφεῖναι.—Chrysost. Opp. Paris. 1718-38. In 1 Tim. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. xi. p. 555.]

prophets and apostles, yea, and of Christ himself, we open and shew forth unto them. We exhort our hearers alway to repentance and amendment of life, to fly from the vengeance to come, and to bring forth the fruits that belong to repentance. And we give unto them, to have always in readiness against all kind of sins, certain remedies, as it were against sicknesses and diseases. For he that beareth malice and envy against his neighbour, heareth: "Every man that hateth his brother is a murderer." The backbiter heareth: "Whosoever saith to his brother, Thou fool, shall be guilty of hell fire;" and, "Cursed speakers shall not possess the kingdom of God." The impatient and he that desireth to revenge, heareth: "Love your enemies; pray for them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, &c., that you may be the children of the Highest: and if you do not forgive other men their offences, neither shall your heavenly Father forgive you your offences." He that is altogether given to riotous voluptuousness, heareth the parable of the rich glutton and the poor man Lazarus. He that is busied in heaping together riches, heareth the parable of the rich man filling his barns, and purposing to take his ease for many years; and that which the apostle saith, "Having food, and wherewithal to cover ourselves, let us be therewithal content. For those that would be rich fall into temptations and snares, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men in perdition

Admonitions used in pulpits against all kind of sins.

1 John iii.

Matt. v.

1 Cor. vi.

Matt. v.

Luke xvi.

Luke xii.

1 Tim. iii.
1 Tim. vi.

and destruction." Those that keep no
Heb. xiii. hospitality hear this saying: "Be mindful of hospitality; for hereby have many unawares received angels into their houses." The proud and ambitious man heareth:
Luke xviii. "He that exalteth himself shall be brought low;" and, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble." The bab-
Matt. xii. bler and talkative man heareth: "Men shall give an account at the day of judg-
Eph. iv. Coloss. iii. ment of every idle word;" and, "Let no filthy communication proceed out of your mouths." The secure and careless man
Matt. xxiv. heareth: "Be you therefore ready, because the Son of Man will come in an hour you know not."
Luke vi. The usurer heareth: "Lend, looking for no reward, and great shall your reward be in heaven." The drunkard heareth:
Luke xxi. "Overwhelm not yourselves with wine, wherein there is riot, and beware that your hearts be not overcomen with surfeiting;"
Isai. v. and, "Woe be to you that rise early to drunkenness, and to carouse until the evening, that you may be hot with wine;" and,
1 Pet. v. "Be sober and watch, because your adversary the devil walketh up and down like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." The fornicator and adulterer, or he that is spotted with any like crime, heareth, that
1 Cor. vi. "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, neither softlings, shall have the inheritance of the kingdom of God;" and again, "For you know this, no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, nor he that is a worshipper of images, shall have any in-

heritance in the kingdom of God and Christ;" and, "Marriage is honourable amongst all men, and the bed undefiled; but as for fornicators and adulterers, God will judge them." Those that neglect the works of charity hear: "Depart from me, you cursed, into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and for his angels. For I was hungry, and you fed me not: I was thirsty, and you refreshed me not: I was a stranger, and you lodged me not: I was naked, and you clothed me not: I was sick, and you visited me not." To be short, we repeat and urge earnestly that of the holy apostle: "We shall all appear before the tribunal-seat of Christ, that every one may receive as he hath done in his body, either good or evil."

Heb. xiii.

Matt. xxv.

Rom. xiv. 2 Cor. v.

Moreover, we admonish and call upon every vocation for the fruits and virtues appertaining to their estate. The prince and magistrate heareth: "You carry not the sword in vain; for the magistrate is God's minister, to punish the evil, and to cherish the good:" and, "Princes are not a terror to those that do well, but to those that do evil." The subject heareth: "There is no power but it is of God: whosoever therefore resisteth power, resisteth God's ordinance;" and, "We ought not to obey for fear only, but also for conscience;" and again, "Pay tribute to whom tribute belongeth." The husband heareth: "You husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter unto them;" and, "So men ought to love their wives, as their own bodies." The

Rom. xiii.

Exhortations used in pulpits to inflame men to virtue.

Rom. xiii.

Eph. v. Colos. iii.

wife heareth: "You wives, be subject to your husbands, as unto the Lord, because the man is the woman's head; and as the church is subject to Christ, so ought wives to be subject to their husbands in all things."

Eph. vi. The parents heareth: "Provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the discipline of the Lord." Children hear: "Obey your parents in the Lord." The servants hear: "Obey those that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with simplicity of your hearts, as it were to Christ." And masters hear: "You masters, use your servants with courtesy and gentleness, knowing that you have a master in heaven." The preacher

1 Pet. v. readeth: "Feed the flock of Christ as much as in you lieth; not taking care thereof by coaction, but willingly; not desirous of filthy lucre, but with a ready mind." The

Luke iii. publican heareth: "Require no more than that which is appointed for you." The soldier heareth: "Strike no man, neither speak evil of any man, but be content with your stipends."

These and many such texts of the same sort we repeat and inculcate most earnestly, and with all our diligence exhort the people to virtue and godliness: which do plainly prove and argue that we are free from those crimes which our adversaries most untruly charge us withal.

A difference of works, taken of the persons working. There are some kind of works indeed, that we write and speak against, because they cannot be accounted amongst the number of good works: and to the end our

dealings herein may be more evident, it shall not be from my purpose to distinguish between the divers orders of men bringing forth good works, and between works themselves; whereby the process of my matter will be more facile and easy. And touching the persons working, they may be reduced to three sorts.

Three sorts of men working.

1. Of the first kind are miscreants and unbelievers, not received into Christ's church with any sacraments: in whom the dignity of natural reason is not so dimly obscured, but that most commonly with great endeavour they convert things external honest, and detest things dishonest, preferring with grave judgment virtue to vice, as is most convenient. Whereof the Apostle speaketh, saying, that "the Gentiles by nature do those things which appertain unto the law." Wherefore, albeit the works of heathen men are not to be compared with the good works of faithful men engraffed in the Church of Christ; yet for many causes, and principally for that without all controversy all good gifts and endowments, even in the paynims, are God's good gifts, they have the title and name of good works in some respects given unto them.

Rom. ii.

2. Of the second sort those are who have received the sacraments, and are written as it were in the register-book of the church of God: amongst whom there is also some difference: for some are very atheists, and with their abominable life deny him in their deeds, whom they confess with their mouth, and are in name only

The second sort of men working.

I.

2. Christians. Others are hypocrites, making a shew of good works, and covering the wickedness of their hearts with outward glosses; not respecting God's honour and glory, but that themselves may be seen and
3. glorified of men. And finally, others do good works with a pure and sincere heart, proceeding of faith and fear of God, having their eyes fixed upon God's glory and the profit of their neighbour: and in these the Spirit of God, which they have already received in justification and regeneration, is fruitful and effectual. Now let us view these men's works that are in the fellowship and communion of Christ's Church: for of the works of infidels and Gentiles I will speak somewhat afterward.

Atheists. First, the atheists, who think in their heart, that there is no God, do loose the reins of liberty to all filthy lust and beastly pleasure, contemn all honest and godly actions, and with the sycophants plainly
Euripides. grant, "We know no other god but our bellies, unto whom we will offer sacrifices, oxen, sheep, and all other delicious things[1]." Of the which epicurism the holy prophet
Ps. xiv. David complaineth: "The foolish body hath said in his heart, There is no God;" and afterward accuseth and bewaileth the frightful corruption of human nature, carrying about daily, either ignorance not knowing God, or security neglecting God, or distrust running away from God. Of these men's works I shall not need to speak anything in this my exhortation[2] to good

[1 Eurip. Cycl. 333, 4.] [2 exhortations, 1576.]

works, seeing they bend themselves only to work wickedness.

Hypocrites and their works.

Hypocrites, albeit now and then they shew some works of mercy and pity, and observe the commandments according to the outward letter, yet most commonly their whole study is occupied about superstitious ceremonies, rites, and external exercises; wherein they think that a christian man's life doth chiefly consist. Of the which sort are, to go in pilgrimage bare-footed, hanging jewels upon stocks and stones, offering of incense and wax candles, invocation of saints, and many other like toys, conjoined either with great impiety and idolatry, or with great lightness and folly; which were never ordained by God, that we should walk in them: against which kind of works we preach and teach most earnestly, as we are commanded in the holy scripture.

Hypocrites delight chiefly in works ceremonial.

Hypocrites have also an especial delight and pleasure in other works, good doubtless in some sort, but such as belong to discipline and exercise of the body, rather than to true godliness: as an abstinence from dainty meats, in often fastings, watchings, lying upon the ground, and to live after some one man's prescript and order; whereby the loftiness and courage of the flesh is somewhat abated and subdued: which exercises we like very well of also, although we ascribe not so much unto them as the vulgar sort were wont; but we prefer very much those works, which come more nighly to sincere godliness, of the which I will speak hereafter. And the common and ignorant

The judgment of the vulgar touching works ceremonial.

people undoubtedly, if they see any men lean with abstinency, broken with labours, spent with watching, they wonderfully esteem such, and conceive an especial conceit of their sanctimony and holiness.

Hypocrites puffed up in their own conceit.

And yet it cometh to pass oftentimes, both that men swell in their own opinion of that credit which they have with the vulgar for those external shews; and in continuance of time do observe the same with superstitious, yea, judaical mind, as though true godliness did consist therein: whereas in very deed they are of no moment, unless those perfit works, which Christ and his apostles do so often require, be annexed unto the same. And it may be, nay, usually we have and do see it so to be, that those who chastise their bodies with abstinence, labour, and watching, that of their own accord have renounced in diet, flesh, and strong drink, do not abstain from woman's flesh, ambition, envy, and malice, emulation, and such like; and yet in the meantime have stolen the hearts of the simple into their great admiration, and, tickled with the vain applausion of the ignorant, are taken in amaze and forget themselves.

Hypocrites sometime do moral works, and after what sort.

Hagg. ii. Isai. l. lviii. Prov. xv.

Hypocrites sometime do the works outwardly of the commandments: they pray and hold up their hands to God, but from a filthy and corrupt heart: against whom the prophet Esay crieth very sharply: "When you shall stretch out your hands, I will turn mine eyes away from you; and when you shall multiply your prayers, I will not hear you, for your hands are full of blood: wash

you, make yourselves clean, and take away the wickedness of your cogitations." These men did all things to be seen of the world; against whom our master Christ is most earnest, and sheweth that they are detested of God. They are no better than the Gentiles, but rather much worse: first, because they have obtained more ample knowledge than they, and yet are no whit better; secondly, because they do not good[1] in good order and manner, and yet ambitiously seek the title of sanctity and holiness: wherein they are twice guilty; for it is well said of Gregory: "Counterfeit holiness is a double iniquity[2]." Against such kind of works we preach and teach, and that, as you see, not without many authorities and grave examples.

Matt. vi. xvi. xxiii.

Hypocrites worse than infidels.

Gregory.

Let us now come to the works of infidels and unbelieving persons, and consider how we ought to esteem of them also. Concerning the infidels, whether we view their excellent and noble knowledge and skill in arts both liberal and manuary, or their honest actions and virtues in civil life, we may not gainsay but that they are the good blessings and gifts of God; which he collateth upon whom it liketh him, for the public profit of all mankind. And if it were needful that Beseleel and Oliab should have understanding and wisdom poured

Works of infidels.

Bezeleel and Oliab could not build the tabernacle before they were taught by God. Exod. xxxi. xxxv.

[1] gad, 1576.]

[2] The following from Augustine, which possibly Gregory may have borrowed, seems to be the passage intended: Simulata innocentia non est innocentia: simulata æquitas non est æqũitas, sed duplex iniquitas; quia et iniquitas est et simulatio.—Enarr. in Pŝ. lxiii. Tom. VIII. p. 234.]

into them by God's Spirit, that they might be able to frame and perfit the tabernacle; much more we ought to think, that those things which are most excellent in human society spring and flow[1] from the Spirit of God. Neither ought that place of scripture to make any man stagger, which affirmeth that the Spirit of God dwelleth in the faithful: for that is to be understood of the Spirit of sanctification, whereby we are consecrated the temple of the living God. For he doth move, replenish, and quicken all creatures with the same Spirit, according to every of their properties, which he gave unto them in the law of creation.

Rom. viii. 1 Cor. iii. Eph. iii. 2 Tim. i.

And in like manner, we ought to think of their worthy actions and virtues: for we ought not to be so dull and senseless, to think that there is no difference between Cato and Catiline[2]; between the justice, equity, and moderation of Titus and Trajan, and the savage and cruel lousiness of Caligula and Nero; or between the beastly lust of Tiberius, and Vespasian's continency; between the conservation and contempt of laws. What thing can there remain in good order, if we should hold such a confusion? God therefore hath engraved in man's heart a distinction between honest and unhonest actions, and, as it were, ratifies[3] the same with the dispensation of his providence. For we

Lactan. Li. 3. cap. 19.

The great wisdom, learning, and virtues of the heathen are the gifts of God.

[1] show, 1576.]

[2] Quod igitur erit discrimen virtutis ac sceleris, si nihil interest utrumne Aristides sit aliquis an Phalaris, utrum Cato an Catilina?—Lactant. Divin. Instit. Lib. III. de Fals. Sapient. cap. 18.]

[3] ratify, 1576.]

see him bestow temporal blessings upon those that follow virtue: not that the external image and shew of virtue doth deserve any thing at all; but it pleaseth him to make manifest unto the world that way, in what price he hath the true and internal justice of the heart, whiles he suffereth not the external to go unrewarded: whereof it followeth, that those virtues, or rather images and shadows of virtues, in the infidels are God's gifts, because there is nothing laudable and praise-worthy in any respect, but that only which cometh from him.

God recompenseth moral virtues with temporal blessings.

And yet let us take St Augustine's lesson with us, which he giveth touching their works after this manner: "All that are strangers from the religion of the one and everliving God, howsoever they seem wonderful through the opinion of virtues, not only deserve no reward, but rather punishment, because the pure gifts of God are spotted in their filthiness[4]." For albeit the virtues of the painims in outward shew be great, and may cause many Christians to blush, when they see themselves so far excelled of them in a civil life; yet there are many defects and filthy spots in their

Lib. iv. contra Jul.

The virtues of the infidels be to no purpose in matters of salvation.

[4 Ex quo colligitur etiam ipsa bona opera, quæ faciunt infideles, non ipsorum esse, sed illius qui bene utitur malis; ipsorum autem esse peccata, quibus et bona male faciunt, quia ea non fideli, sed infideli, hoc est, stulta et noxia faciunt voluntate.—August. con. Julian. Pelag. Lib. IV. cap. 3. Opp. Colon. Agripp. 1616. Tom. VII. p. 362. This is not a direct quotation; but much of what precedes and follows in Augustine is compressed or loosely referred to through several of the succeeding pages of Woolton.]

Defects in the virtues of infidels, and especially the ignorance of God.

deeds and actions. That principal point which is all in all, I mean the knowledge of God and right religion, was so wanting unto them, that all other things, were they never so excellent, could profit them nothing to salvation: for as is the body without the head, so were the virtues of the ethnicks without the knowledge of the living God. Some of them haply were half persuaded, that there is a God, who both created and yet conserveth the world, whereof those divine sentences of theirs dispersed here and there in their works are found concerning God, religion, faith, and such like; so with some knowledge of divinity seemed to be bred in them naturally: yet they were not certainly persuaded of one God, and they wanted that divine wisdom wherewith the fathers and prophets were inspired, which is to be had only out of the holy scripture, and to be understood by the aid of God's Spirit, wherein the salvation of mankind is contained. They knew nothing of God as he revealed himself in his word even from the beginning, than the which benefit none can come or be more wished of mankind. These chief and principal virtues then, the true knowledge of God, love, fear, and reverence of God, together with perfit trust and confidence in God, calling upon him in distress and necessity, was wanting unto them.

They knew nothing of God as he revealed himself in his word.

True faith, hope, and prayer wanted in them.

Infidels ignorant of original sin, the cause of man's misery.

Besides this, they knew nothing of original sin and natural corruption: they knew nothing of the cause of sin; nothing of man's misery; nothing of true and effectual

consolations, either against calamities or against death itself. They knew nothing of the redemption of mankind by Christ; nothing of the tyranny of the devil; nothing of the reparation of God's image; name[ly] nothing of the old man in Adam, and new man in Christ. They knew nothing of the resurrection of the dead; nothing of the day of doom; nothing of the eternal bliss and immortality which the faithful shall enjoy in body and soul in the heavenly kingdom.

They knew nothing of man's redemption and regeneration.

Ignorant of the resurrection.

Albeit then the acts and deeds of the ethnicks give outwardly a godly shew; as Aristides and Phocion in justice and equity, Socrates in piety[1], Xenocrates in continency, Lucretia in love of chastity, which they pursued (let us grant so much) to some good end; admit, not for any desire of glory and renown, but first, because the very face and countenance of virtue seemed honourable unto them; secondly, to leave unto their countrymen domestical examples which they might follow; lastly, to stir up in others an emulation and desire of virtue: if, I say, all these good things were in them, yet we see how far they were from perfection. The crown and garland, as it were, wanteth in their works; to wit, the knowledge of God, and an heart purified by faith. Wherefore St Augustine spake of them after this manner: "There is no good thing without the chief goodness: and where the true knowledge of the eternal truth wanteth, there is no true virtue; no,

Lib. iv. contra Jul.

[1 pity, 1576.]

Prosper. de vocatione gentium.

not in the best manners[1]." And another: "Without the religion of the true God, that which seemeth to be virtue is vice: neither can any man please God without God[2], &c."

For those that are ignorant of the true God cannot have true and perfit virtue, but only a shew or shadow thereof vanishing away. And whereas reason and will do concur in all honest and good actions; the one admonishing what men ought to do, or not to do, the other pursueth and practiseth the same; it is most certain that human reason after his fall is oppressed with great ignorance and error, and therefore most commonly judgeth corruptly; and will also to be carried to the worst in the execution of all things. The knowledge of God then purifying the heart is doubtless the origin and fountain of all virtues which is pleasant and acceptable unto God. It is that which illuminateth and informeth reason rightly, and, correcting corrupt will, reneweth a man after God in justice and true holiness. Moreover, the ethnicks in their deeds respect not the right end, which make[s] a true and perfit difference between all actions. For example sake: to relieve and give alms to the poor is accounted, and

Reason and will corrupt.

Infidels in their actions never respect the last end.

[1 Nihil est bonum sine summo bono: ubi enim deest agnitio æternæ et incommutabilis veritatis, falsa virtus est, etiam in optimis moribus.—De Vera Innocentia, cvi. ad calc. Opp. August. Tom. x. col. 155. Antwerp. 1701.]

[2 Sine cultu enim veri Dei, etiam quod virtus videtur esse, peccatum est, nec placere ullus Deo sine Deo potest.—Ignot. Auct. De Voc. Gent. ap. Prosp. Opp. Par. 1711. Lib. i. cap. vii. col. 853.]

indeed is, a virtue, if it proceed from the love of God and man: but if it proceed of a desire to purchase praise and commendation of the world, it is sin and hypocrisy.

How the virtues of infidels are commendable and profitable in human society.

We do not reject in the meantime their political virtues in human society; but commend and embrace them so far forth, as they swarve not from right reason and judgment of the mind, and especially from the ten commandments. But we admonish therewithal, that Christians ought to have a far other respect than the ethnicks had: for they avoided vice, and followed virtue, through desire of praise, honour, and glory, or through desire of dignity and authority, or for common concord and quietness; or else through reverence of men, and fear of the laws, or some such like matter: whereas the Christians direct all their doing to the glory of God and profit of their neighbours. They weigh more the fear of God than worldly glory, the love of justice than deceitful praise, and eternal bliss more than temporal pleasures. The ethnicks, if there were any notable thing in them, vaunted as of their own gifts: but the Christians acknowledge God to be the giver and author of all good gifts. The virtue of humility then, which Christ so earnestly requireth of us, was wanting in the infidels.

What Christians ought to respect in their actions.

Of the works of Jews, Saracens, and Turks.

The same that hath been said generally of the ethnicks, may be particularly extended to the Jews and Turks: who would seem to acknowledge one God only, to detest all idols, and to excel in holiness of life; yet because they worship not God as

he hath revealed and appointed in his word, neither believe that Christ is the Son of the living God, all their works must needs be foul in God's sight. For without that there is no true virtue, no knowledge of God, nor sincere worshipping of God; no pure love toward God, nor toward our neighbour. They feign unto themselves a God, or rather an idol, who is not the Father of our mediator and redeemer, Jesus Christ. Therefore they worship not God aright; for "he that knoweth [honoureth] not the Son, honoureth not the Father," nor yet calleth upon his name. And because the Holy Ghost is given for the Son's sake unto believers, to stir up new motions in their hearts; it is evident how far from all goodness Jews and Turks are; whiles they despise the Son of God, who only sendeth the Holy Ghost unto men, to breed in them all perfit goodness. Moreover, for that the true love of God (from whence all love toward our neighbour is derived) riseth in us upon that abundant mercy, which he hath shewed in giving his only Son Christ to be crucified for our sins, whom the Jews and Turks contemn and blaspheme; it cannot be that they, contemning him, should sincerely love God or their neighbour for God's sake.

Joh. [v.]

So then both Jews and Turks want the chief and principal virtues of Christians, the true knowledge and fear of God, faith, charity, hope, invocation of God's name, giving of thanks, obedience in sorrows and miseries, with others of that sort. And if

haply there be any shews or pictures of politic virtues in them, those are so defiled and spotted with impure affections, that they lose all their beauty. We see in beasts themselves something resembling virtue; as in the lions clemency toward suppliants, in the dog faithful[ness] toward his master, in sheep softness and meekness; and yet these are not true virtues: it is even so almost in the infidels, whose reason, being void and destitute of the light of God's Spirit, wandereth in ignorance and darkness, and can do no true and sincere virtue, but haply now and then some vain mask and shew of virtue. And thus much of the works of paynims and infidels.

A similitude.

Thirdly and lastly, those good works are to be considered, which are done of those, who from the bottom of their hearts embrace true holiness and righteousness. And it were requisite, if a man would prosecute everything exactly, diligently to consider the signification of the word *works*: but because that matter in English would rather seem to be vain ostentation, than serve to edification; I will omit the same for this time, and with some description open the meaning or signification of good works. Good works are actions which are done of men regenerate, by the aid of God's Spirit, through faith, according to the rule of God's word, having their respects as chief uses and ends, to wit, the honour and glory of God, the ornament and honesty of our lives, and the profit and commodity of our neighbours. I will open

Of the works of faithful Christians.

The definition of good works.

every part of this description largely; after I have shewed how earnestly almighty God in his word requireth of his servants good works, which are established, and not rejected, by faith.

Good works are established, and not rejected, by the doctrine of justification by faith.

First therefore, all sincere and faithful professors of the gospel ought most certainly to persuade themselves, that they are adopted freely by God, and already justified through Christ by faith, and regenerate and sanctified by God's Spirit, that they might in word and deed express, and somewhat resemble, the nature and disposition of their heavenly Father; and therewithal declared[1] unto the world by their works, that they are the sons of God. For that cause I have again and again repeated before, that a christian faith ought to be garnished with all kind of good works. And therefore, as the apostle St Paul, after that proposition, "We gather therefore that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law," in the way of questioning, saith, "We make the law therefore in vain through faith?" he answereth by and by, "God forbid! nay, we establish the law:" even so I presently affirm, that we do not now-a-days dissolve good works by the doctrine of faith justifying, but we rather establish the same. For without faith there can be no good works: and faith cannot be unfruitful or idle in those that are justified.

God requireth good works of his servants.

Moreover, almighty God himself requireth of his servants the good works of

[1 Perhaps either *declare*, or *be declared*.]

a true faith; and grievously accuseth and condemneth by the prophets and apostles those that are negligent and slothful. Moses saith in the law: "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but that thou should fear thy God, and walk in his ways, and love him; and serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and keep the commandments of the Lord, and his ceremonies, which I command thee, that it may be well with thee?" What should I speak of that, that the law of God is given from heaven, that it may shew unto them their infirmity and offences, their natural corruption and just condemnation; and so leadeth us, as it were by the hand, from trust and confidence in ourselves to depend upon Christ? And yet that is but one scope or use of the law, which was given to the end that it might be a rule of man's life, exhibiting a perfect discipline to those that are justified by faith. So saith the prophet in the book of Psalms: "Blessed is that man, whom thou, O Lord, instructest in thy law." And again: "He hath given a testimony unto Jacob, and a law unto Israel, that the posterity may know, and put their trust in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments."

Deut. x.

Ps. xciv.

The prophets everywhere teach a true faith in God and his Son Christ; and also call for good works of the true worshippers of God. "Blessed is he," saith Jeremy, "that trusteth in the Lord: he shall be like a tree planted by the waters, which

Jer. xvii.

sendeth his moisture unto the roots, and he shall not fear when summer cometh. And his leaf shall be green, and he shall not be in danger in the time of drought, neither shall he cease to bring forth fruit." Which word he translated, no doubt, out of the first Psalm. And in Esay the prophet mention is made of a vineyard that was planted to bring forth fruit. And John Baptist, the forerunner of the Lord, appointed discipline and order of life to those that asked of him what they should do: and amongst other things he spake thus to the Pharisees and Sadducees: "Ye generation of vipers, who hath taught you to fly from the vengeance to come? bring forth the fruits of repentance." And Zachary, his father, sung and said before: "That we being without fear, and delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life."

Isai. v.

Luke iii. Matt. iii. John Baptist.

Luke i.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in that his sermon made unto his disciples in the mountain, exhorteth them, and in them all the faithful, to good works; but especially in the end, concluding with these words: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doth the will of my Father who is in heaven." And immediately after he subjoineth two parables, of one that built his house upon a firm rock, and of him that laid his foundation upon the sand. The hearers and doers of the word of God are like unto them; the hearers only resembled unto the others. And

Matt. v. vi. vii. Christ.

when a woman cried out, saying, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck;" our Saviour answered: "But blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it." And even the like answer he gave unto the Jews, boasting that they were Abraham's sons: "If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham: you are of your father the devil, and fulfil the desires of your father." And again: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman: he cutteth off every branch that doth not bring forth fruit in me; and every one that bringeth forth fruit he purgeth, that he may bring forth fruit more plentifully." Luke xi. John viii. John xv.

In like manner the holy Apostles, commending the doctrine of their master to all nations, do most earnestly call for good works. "As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves unto the former lusts of your ignorance; but as he which called you is holy, even so be ye holy also in all manner of conversation. And if so be that ye call on the Father, which without respect of person judgeth according to every man's work, see that ye pass the time of your dwelling here in his fear: forasmuch as you know how that you were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation, which ye received by the tradition of your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb undefiled and without spot." And in his latter epistle, after the rehearsal of certain virtues, he addeth: "For if these things The apostles call for good works. 1 Pet. i. 2 Pet. i.

be among you, and be plenteous, they will make you that ye neither shall be idle nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins. Wherefore, brethren, give the more diligence for to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do such things, ye shall never fall."

1 Thess. iv. St Paul in like manner writing to the Thessalonians saith: "We beseech you, brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, as ye have received of us, how you ought to walk and please God. For you know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, your holiness, that ye should abstain from fornication; that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in holiness and honour, &c."

2 Tim. ii. And in his epistle to Timothy: "This sure foundation of God endureth, having this sign, The Lord knoweth who are his: and let every man that calleth upon the name of the Lord depart from iniquity. If a man therefore purge himself from these things, he shall be a vessel sanctified to honour, applied to the use of the Lord, and prepared to all good works." But speaking of the

Tit. i. hypocrites, he saith thus: "They profess that they know God, but in their deeds they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and reprobate to all good works." The blessed apostle and evangelist saith thus:

1 Joh. i. "If we say we have fellowship with him,

and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. And if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have mutual fellowship with him." And St James: "Be you doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves; for if a man hear the word, and express not the same in his deeds, he is like a man that beholdeth his face in a glass: for beholding himself, he goeth his way, and forgetteth his similitude." Judas also, the brother of James, and apostle of Christ, is very angry with those that abuse the grace of our God to wantonness, and saith, that such "have already manifestly denied God, and his Son Christ."

James i.

Jude, 1.

This doctrine of good works I have specified and collected out of the holy prophets and apostles, lest some might report of us, that we are very copious in the doctrine of justification by faith, but bare and barren in the other part of christian doctrine, concerning good works; and principally, lest sycophants might cavil, that we are despisers and enemies to good works. The apostles of Christ the Lord, and namely St Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles, and vessel of election, have notably set out God's grace, and very often inculcate, that men are justified before God by faith, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; and yet notwithstanding they urge most earnestly the works of faith. "Ye were sometime darkness, but now are you light in the Lord; walk as children of light, (for the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, righteousness and truth,) approving that which

is acceptable unto the Lord. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather rebuke them."

The preaching of grace reproachful to the wicked.

And as the preaching of God's grace is now-a-days objected unto us as a reproach; even so was it in the time of Paul the apostle, when many objected and said,

Rom. iii. v.

that the apostles taught men to "do evil, that good might come thereof." There were moreover hypocrites and false gospellers, who abused the preaching of grace, faith, and christian liberty, to satisfy their carnal lusts: and yet the apostles continued most constantly and earnestly in teaching that doctrine; neither did they inhibit the doctrine of justification, because that some men had no regard of good works: but they sharply rebuked such; and admonished the faithful to beware of such perverse liberty. In consideration whereof St Peter is thought

2 Pet. iii.

to have uttered these words: "And suppose that the long-suffering of the Lord is salvation, even as our dearly beloved brother

Peter's judgment touching Paul's epistles.

Paul also, according unto the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you, speaking of such things; amongst which are many things hard to understand, which they that are unlearned and unstable pervert, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction. Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye be warned aforehand, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own stedfastness." And the same apostle in another place:

1 Pet. ii.

"For so it is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may stop the ignorance of

foolish men: as free, and not as having the liberty for a cloke of naughtiness, but even as the servants of God."

Hereunto agreeth the saying of St Paul: "Brethren, ye have been called into liberty; only let not liberty be an occasion unto the flesh, but by love serve one another." And almost the like was uttered before of our Saviour Christ: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth for ever. If the Son therefore shall make you free, then shall you be free indeed." Wherefore Christians, who are made free in true christian liberty, are delivered from the devil, sin, and condemnation, that sin may not rule in their mortal bodies, (albeit the dregs and remnants of natural corruption remain in them;) neither are they subject to the sentence of eternal death, albeit they die corporally; and to be short, that they may not serve sin and devil, but grace and Christ.

Gal. v.

Against the abuse of christian liberty. Joh. viii.

True christian liberty.

And having spoken thus much of the necessity of good works, it consequently followeth, that I, returning to the definition of good works, should shew what works are allowed or disallowed in Christ's church. And first, we do not derive the same out of the decrees of men; but acknowledge God to be the fountain and author of the same. For all men by nature are liars, corrupt and sinful; and how can that which is evil bring forth good? Therefore from God only, who alone is good, all good works do

The origin of good works.

James i. spring. The blessed apostle St James saith: "Every good gift and every[1] perfit gift is from above, descending from the Father of lights." St Peter also writeth to the same

1 Pet. v. end: "The God of all grace, who hath called you to his eternal glory through Jesus Christ, strengthen and confirm you."

Phil. ii. And St Paul: "It is God that worketh in you both the will and the deed." Our

Joh. xv. Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ saith: "He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same shall bring forth much fruit." And in an-

Joh. iii. other place: "He that doeth truth cometh unto the light, that his works may be manifest, that they are done by God." The prophet Esay also, inspired with Christ's

Isai. xxvi. Spirit, saith: "Lord, thou shalt give us peace, for thou hast wrought all our works."

Good works are of God, and yet in some respect they are called our own works.

Now although we hold that good works proceed from God, as the fountain and origin; yet he doth not these things without us, but rather worketh by us and in us, so that the works of God done by us are also our own works. For God doth regenerate his elect and chosen servants with his Spirit, and giveth them faith. Then they, being so regenerate, like God's obedient children, do yield and apply themselves to please him with a holy life and conversation. And

How good works are wrought. the Holy Spirit which is in them is effectual, stirring up their power and will to all good works in all parts and course of their life. Faith also, whereby men's hearts are purified, is not idle and sluggish, but doth her part, and is a vigilant and diligent

[1] any, 1576.]

keeper of integrity of mind and virtuous conversation throughout all their life; and doth as it were put them in mind, that they, being once purified in the blood of Christ through the Holy Ghost, should keep themselves unspotted in the filthy world from all pollution of the flesh, never to abuse the gifts of the body, but to preserve the same as a vessel of honour. The regenerate therefore watch and work righteousness, neither do they make a small account of sin, as wicked worldlings do: for they right well and deeply consider, that God who sent his Son into this world to be a propitiation for sin, and gave him to death, even the death of the cross, doth both hate sin as a thing abominable, and also love justice and purity of life. And for that cause they also hate sin, and love righteousness, detest impiety, and embrace piety[2], and so study to practise the same all the days of their life.

Impediments of good works.

But in this labour and endeavour of the children of God there are many lets and hinderances; and holy men are afflicted, as it were with a grievous and daily battle, which is never ended before the day of death: for that deadly and crafty enemy[3] of ours, Satan the devil, rusheth upon us with great vehemency, and undermineth us with a thousand temptations. And he is assisted with many mighty confederates. For our

A continual battle.

[2 pity, 1576. But this error is so uniform in the old edition, that it will be needless to note it any more.]

[3 envy, 1576.]

own flesh is slow and dull to all goodness, and prone to all viciousness. The flattering and deceitful world also urgeth us mightily with company, pleasures, honours, which are most vain. There are also many worldlings, who with their pernicious examples do carry the simple sort into destruction. What should I say of fear and hope, which do exceeding[ly] exercise and afflict the minds of the regenerate, in such sort, that unless God's Spirit did every hour assist them, and confirm their faith, they could do no good work at all? Against these, and all other temptations that disciple, so dearly beloved of Christ, do[th] comfort us, saying, "This is the love of God, that we should keep his precepts, and his commandments are not heavy. For every one that is born of God overcometh the world. And this is the victory that overcometh the world, even your faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" And St Paul: "If his Spirit that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies by the power of his Spirit dwelling in you." By the which word all faithful men may easily gather the cark and care which God's Spirit dwelling in the hearts of the faithful taketh, that justice may overcome and injustice be vanquished. And Christ our Saviour promiseth that he will pour his Spirit most plentifully upon us; and doth also command us to ask the same of him with ardent and

God aideth us every moment. 1 John v.

Rom. viii.

continual prayers. The faithful therefore, and such as are regenerate by God's Spirit, continue in prayers without intermission. They keep their bodies in subjection with moderate fasting and abstinency, that their prayer may be more zealous. For prayer and fasting are as it were preparatives to good works.

Helps and furtherances to do good works.

Now as these impediments above specified do hinder men from doing of good works; even so there are many things which further and help us toward the practice of the same: amongst the which is especially God's Spirit; then a true and perfect faith, and afterward continual and earnest prayers; whereunto we may add, the sincere doctrine of all times and ages, as well under the old as new Testament; and moreover the innumerable examples of the servants of God, and of Christ, the Lord and Saviour of the whole world, who amongst other things saith: "I have given an example unto you, that as I have done, so should you do." Besides these things, the very filthiness of vices, terrifying us from sin, and the praise and fair beauty of virtue, inviting us to the study of piety; the wrath of God also, and the severity of his judgments; the fearful threats of pain and torments as well temporal as eternal, will pluck us from vices. On the other side, the favour of God, the merciful countenance of that eternal judge, his bountiful promises and hope of blessings, as well temporal as eternal, will encourage us to pursue and practise virtue. For the faithful will not be ingrate

John xiii.

for God's innumerable benefits; neither will they offend their brethren with their filthy lives, for whom the Lord Jesus suffered such grievous pains and torments. These, and such other like considerations, do both stay men from vice, and further them to virtue.

What manner of works the godly do.

But the godly use a choice and discretion in doing works (as I have once or twice already spoken), accounting of those only that are appointed by God: wherein that elect vessel St Paul giveth us a good lesson,

Eph. ii.

writing to the Ephesians: "We are created in Jesus Christ to do those works which he hath prepared for us to walk in." First he affirmeth notably, and with great weight of words, that we were "created in Christ Jesus to do good works." We answer not then our end, if we rot and putrefy [in] evil and filthy sin, and return not to God by true faith and hearty repentance, and con-

John xv.

fess we draw our lively moisture from him; we can never bring forth any good fruit: for so Christ himself beareth witness. The Apostle, therefore, speaketh with great weight and efficacy, in that he saith that we were "created in Christ Jesus to do good works." Then, lest we should be ignorant what good works the Apostle would have, he addeth: "Which he hath prepared [for] us to walk in." What be those which he hath prepared for us to walk in, but those which he hath revealed unto us in the holy law of his commandments? And therefore our Saviour Christ, demanded in

Matt. xxii. Luke x.

the gospel by a certain man, "What shall I do to possess eternal life? and what is the

greatest commandment in the law?" he answering sent him unto the law, whereof this is the sum: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: for in these two commandments consist the whole law and the prophets."

I repeated once or twice before, that the ten commandments are the most certain and most absolute platform of good works. Which thing that it may more evidently appear, I will by a brief enumeration (as it were in a table) note and point out the same. Unto the first commandment we may refer the fear of God, faith, love, and assured hope in adversity, together with patience and constancy. The second commandment containeth all true worshipping of God, and the avoiding of all superstition and idolatry. The third commandment comprehendeth the reverence of God's name, together with invocation and confession of the same. And the fourth commandment calleth for the preaching of God's word, public prayers, and for external worshipping and serving of God; allowing also seemly and moderate ceremonies, and especially such as may tend to edifying in the church of God. Unto the fifth we may refer piety toward our parents, country, and kinsfolks, lawful obedience unto the magistrate and all superiors, and the offices in civil life. The sixth commandeth justice and judgment, the defending of the father-

The ten commandments are an absolute rule of good works.

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less and widows, and the deliverance of those that be oppressed, beneficency, and

7. innocency. The seventh comprehendeth faith and truth between married persons, and duties of matrimony, honest and godly education of children, the love of chastity,

8. and sobriety. We may refer unto the eighth justice in contracts and bargains, munificency, liberality, and hospitality.

9. Unto the ninth we may refer the love and study of truth throughout all our life, faith in word and deed, learned, honest[1], and profitable communication. And under the

10. tenth are contained good and godly affections, together with all holy and honest cogitations. And this is a very brief and compendious form and rule of good works; which if you would have more contract and short, you may consider the speech of Christ dividing the same into two general

Matt. xxii. parts: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself:" and, "Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, even so do you unto them."

The law requireth internal obedience. Wherein this is principally to be observed, that the divine law, the sum or effect whereof is the love of God and our neighbour, doth not require of those that be justified only external works and discipline; but also the interior and spiritual motions of the heart, consonant to the holy will of almighty God, as our Saviour Christ himself beareth witness, saying:

[1 honesty, 1576.]

"You shall be perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect." For prave and corrupt affections, and cogitations of the inner man, are rebuked and informed by the law of God; and therewithal external discipline is planted; insomuch that by the rule of the ten commandments all men and all orders and vocations of men are informed and instructed in their duty, in all times and places. All estates, sexes, and ages, as princes, prelates, husbands, wives, masters, servants, fathers, children, men, women, bond, and free, are directed and guided by the law of the ten commandments.

Matt. vi.

The ten commandments are a rule of life, and as it were a lodesman to all sexes and degrees.

The last part of the description of good works remaineth touching their end. For I said that all the good works of the regenerate ought to respect the glory of God, the ornament of our lives, and the commodity of our even Christian[2]. The faithful do not good works to be justified thereby, or to obtain remission of their sins, or to procure unto themselves and others eternal life: they do them not to be seen of men, but rather, that God might be glorified amongst men; that they might shew their obedience in walking worthy of their vocation, to the comfort and profit of their brethren. The Lord and Saviour Christ saith thus in the gospel: "Let your light so shine before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorify your Father who is in heaven." He speaketh significantly: "That they may see your good works, and glorify your heavenly Father;" not that

The ends of good works.

Matt. v.

God is glorified by our good works.

[2 Even Christian: equal, or fellow-Christian.]

they may worship and glorify you. For touching those that do their works that they may be seen of men, our Saviour
Matt. vi. speaketh in the same gospel: "Take heed that you do not your alms before men, that you may be seen of them. For if you do so, you have no reward with your heavenly Father." In the which he teacheth us excellently, that to do good works in secret is to do them with a mind void of vainglory, seeking only to please God. And as God is glorified in good works, so is he dishonoured with evil works, as St Paul
Rom. ii. allegeth out of the prophet: "The name of God is evil spoken of through you amongst the gentiles."

Moreover, the godly are always thankful to God for his benefits: which thing is
Luke xvii. plainly declared in that worthy example of the Samaritan, who, as soon as he saw that he had recovered health, returned immediately, and falling down at the Lord's feet, with a loud voice glorified God. Which
In doing good works we are grateful to God. thing all those also do that are purged with Christ's blood, and shew themselves grateful in word and deed to so bountiful a Lord and Saviour. And Christ himself declareth how odious ingrateful men are unto him, in that speech of his unto the Samaritan: "Were there not ten cleansed? and where be those nine? There are none found that returned to glorify God, but only this
Rom. vi. stranger." And St Paul: "Do you not know that to whom you give yourselves servants to obey, his servants you are, whom you obey, either of sin to death, or of obe-

dience to justice?" The faithful, therefore, being now made the servants of Jesus Christ, apply themselves to obedience, do righteousness, depart from iniquity and Satan, from whose tyranny they are delivered by the obedience of Christ.

Good works confirm our faith in us, and assure us of our election.

Besides these things, the godly do good works, to confirm their faith, and to assure and certify their consciences of their election. "Endeavour, my brethren," saith St Peter, "to make your vocation and election certain." 2 Pet. i. And St Paul counselleth his scholar Timothy to stir up, and as it were to kindle, the gift of God in him: 2 Tim. i. for as fire increaseth and burneth hotter by the adding of wood; even so is piety and faith augmented and confirmed by the exercise of good works. An apt similitude. "God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but to holiness;" neither into darkness, but out of darkness into the holy light: whereunto those words of the Apostle seem to serve: "We cease not Colos. i. to pray for you, that you would walk worthy of the Lord, that you may please him in all things, fructifying in all good works, increasing in the knowledge of God, confirmed with all strength, according to the power of his glory, to all suffering and patience with hope." And in another place: Ephes. v. "Ye were once darkness, but now are you light in the Lord: walk as children of the light: for the fruit of the Spirit consisteth in all goodness, justice, and truth, allowing that which is acceptable to God: and have you no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather rebuke them."

Therefore, as the Apostle commandeth the faithful to walk worthy of their vocation, and sheweth them also how they may do the same; even so the godly alway do those things which they are commanded, and direct their works to this end, that they may declare themselves to be the children of the light.

Works serve for the profit of our neighbour. Phil. ii.

The children of God also in their works labour to profit all men and to hurt none. "Let no man," saith the Apostle, "seek those things that be his own, but that which is another's; as I in all things please all men, not seeking my own gain, but the profit of many, that they may be saved."

For what cause good works please God.

And these works of godly men do exceedingly please the Lord our God: but not of their own dignity and worthiness, if ye weigh them in respect of men, or in themselves; but because they are done of those that are reconciled to God in Christ, by faith and new obedience. And if now and then through the corruption of our nature we fall into sin and wickedness, whereby we stain and pollute the good works; yet God, such is his goodness, winketh (as it were) at such escapes, covering our filthiness and spots with the garment of his Christ; he washeth and cleanseth the same with his most precious blood: whereof the Apostle speaketh thus: "There is no condemnation to those that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after flesh, but after the Spirit." And, "Who shall lay any thing against the elect's charge? It is God that justifieth; who is he that will condemn," &c.

Rom. viii.

God rewardeth the works of faithful men.

And that these good works of Christians are acceptable to God, and please him, it appeareth by that, that God rewardeth and crowneth the same with great honours and rewards, both in this life and in the life to come. "Observe and hear," saith the Lord, "all those things which I command thee, that it may be well with thee and thy children after thee, when thou shalt do that thing which is good and acceptable in the sight of the Lord thy God." Deut. xii. The prophet also, speaking beforehand of the Christians, "I will bring them," saith he, "into my holy mountain, and I will cheer them in the house of prayer; their offerings and oblations shall please me upon my altar." Isai. lvi. Whereunto the Apostle no doubt had respect, saying: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercifulness of God, that you would offer your bodies a quick, holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God, which is your reasonable serving of God." Rom. xii. And the promise made by God unto Abraham, and all the faithful in him, is most comfortable, in that he saith, he will be their "defence and plentiful reward." Gen. xv. And the Apostle saith, that "godliness hath promise both in this life, and in the life to come." 1 Tim. iv. And again: "The just judgment of God shall be declared, which will reward every man according to his deeds: to them which by continuing in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, [eternal life;] but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, shall come indignation and wrath, tribu- Rom. ii.

lation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil." Wherefore, we see it most evident, that God hath prepared most plentiful and liberal rewards, as well in this life as in the life to come, to all those that hate sin, and work righteousness: and the Apostle approveth God's justice by the same, whiles that he saith: "God is not unjust, that he will forget your work." Heb. vi.

These and many other such places of scripture do sufficiently declare that God rewardeth the good works of godly men. In what respect God rewardeth his servants. And yet it is not to be inferred or collected, that they may trust to be justified and saved thereby: for the godly do freely and willingly confess, that their works are rewarded of grace, and not of their own merit; especially for that they ever do feel and perceive, that through human infirmity their works are never so perfit, but that they have need of God's mercy to mitigate the rigour of his justice and examining their good works. Therefore in consideration of their hire or reward, the godly extol God's grace and mercy, who giveth to the undeservings as though they had deserved; and, perceiving imbecility and wickedness in themselves, are humbled in minds, and cry with the prophet: "If thou, O Lord, mark our iniquities, who is able to abide it?" Almighty God's doing in this, and many other matters, may be resembled to carnal parents; An apt similitude. who having sons to be their heirs by law of nature and birth-right, yet they inflame and kindle virtue, setting before their eyes gifts and rewards: whose gracious and virtuous

children acknowledge themselves to owe all even of duty to their parents without rewards, and therefore they refer all such benefits and rewards to the mere bounty and liberality of their parents. They look not for hire and rewards, as servants and hirelings, but only for the favour and love of their heavenly Father. And as the sons of the free-woman, and not the sons of the bond-woman, are heirs; even so the kingdom of God is not the stipend of servants, but the reward and heritage of children.

The sum or effect of the premises.

To conclude this matter of merit and reward: the merciful and gracious Lord rewardeth his loving children for their good works, not for the perfection and dignity of the said works, but because the doers of those good works are sons and children. They are made sons and heirs by adoption in Christ; and therefore their works are acceptable to God, not in respect of themselves, but for Christ's sake, in whom they are engraffed, and of whose moisture (as it were of heavenly dew) they are partakers: so that all their rewards are of necessity referred to the grace and mercy of God. And although we grant remuneration and reward of good works, yet merits or deserts cannot be inferred thereof, that by our works we are able to procure eternal life. For the scripture seemeth of purpose in all places to avoid the word merit. "The stipend of sin is death, but eternal life is the gift of God through Jesus Christ:" and therefore St Augustine writ very excellently: "Wilt thou fall from grace? then boast thy own

Rom. vi.

August. in Psal. xxxi.

et in Psal. lxxxviii.

merits." And again: "When a man seeth that all his goodness cometh not of himself, but of God; he easily acknowledgeth all that which is praiseworthy in him, not to be of his own merits, but of the mercy of God[1]."

Good works not hindered, but furthered by this doctrine.

Neither yet is the earnest and ardent desire of working righteousness extinguished and quenched by this doctrine, as our adversaries slanderously lay unto our charge. For as we deny man's merit, so do we teach God's reward, which we refer to his grace and mercy. We add also, that God's holy Spirit, dwelling in the faithful, works effectually in their hearts, that they bring forth good fruits. For God hath given unto his servants "not the spirit of fear, but of power, love, and sobriety." So that the godly, being endued with holy moderation and humility, are afraid to ascribe that to their own merits which of right belongeth to the grace of God and the merits of his Son Jesus Christ. Hereunto consenteth the

Ad Valentinum Epist. 46.

holy father St Augustine: "Let no man say that grace is given unto him by his merits, as heretics falsely affirm. Not because there is no good merit of the godly, nor evil merit of the ungodly; for if it were so, how should God judge the world? But the grace and mercy of God converteth

[1 Si vis esse alienus a gratia, jacta merita tua.—August. Enarr. in Psal. xxxi. Opp. Tom. viii. p. 68. Colon. Agripp. 1616.

Et cum viderit homo, quicquid boni habet, non se habere a se, sed a Deo suo; videt quia totum quod in illo laudatur de misericordia Dei est, non de meritis ipsius.—Id. in Psal. lxxxiv. p. 334.]

man, whereof the psalm speaketh: 'The mercy of my God shall prevent me'[2]." Which thing seeing it is most evident, let no man leave the only and perfect foundation which is Christ, through whom we are justified by faith, and not by works: and yet we being settled upon this foundation, as lively stones, ought, like wise builders, to lay upon the same, in right and decent order, true and perfit good works. Psal. lxxviii.

It appeareth by that which hath been spoken before, what great difference there is between the virtues of Christians and infidels. Surely, so great as there is between a beast and a child; between a wise man and a fool; or between a blind man and one that seeth well. For unto Christians is the secret will of God revealed, and that mystery, which, as the Apostle saith, "was hid many ages." Unto Christians God the Father of glory hath by his Spirit in his word revealed wisdom and the knowledge of himself. To conclude, Christians are translated "out of the power of darkness into the kingdom of his dearly beloved Son, by whom we have redemption through his blood, and Great difference between the faithful and unfaithful.

[2 Nec quisquam dicat meritis operum suorum, vel meritis orationum suarum, vel meritis fidei suæ, sibi traditam Dei gratiam, et putetur verum esse quod illi hæretici dicunt, gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari; quod omnino falsissimum est: non quia nullum est meritum, vel bonum piorum, vel malum impiorum; alioquin quomodo judicabit Deus mundum? sed misericordia et gratia Dei convertit hominem, de qua psalmus dicit, *Deus meus misericordia ejus præveniet me.*—August. Epist. XLVI. ad Valentinum. Opp. Tom. II. p. 55. vel VII. p. 469.]

remission of sins; in whom it hath pleased the heavenly Father to dwell with all fulness, and by him to reconcile all things toward himself, and all things pacified through the blood of his cross, whether they be in heaven or in earth."

Seeing then the excellent dignity of christian men is such; let them also think, that their life and conversation ought to be most excellent, and to pass all other nations or professions. For paynims and all faithless people do lead a life without any faith or hope; they know nothing of eternal life. And although amongst many of them some do hold the immortality of the soul; yet their arguments depend of natural reason, and have not force and effect to persuade weak minds. Neither touching matters of this life do they proceed any further than the bare letter of the second table of God's commandments, and so much as appertaineth to the shadow of honesty in external manners and actions. They, being overcome with the lusts of the flesh and drawn into vices, know not the occasion of the same, much less the mean to amend the same: nay, they often freely confess, that they are violently drawn with their filthy appetites: they see better things, and allow of them, but they choose and embrace the worst; they desire those things that are forbidden them, they pursue such things as fleet away, and refuse those things that are offered unto them. Such is the corrupt nature of all men, that live without the direction of God's Spirit and the light of the gospel.

But the Christians, believing in the Son of God, and walking in the clear light of his gospel, do know that they are redeemed not with any corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with such a matter, whose life hath no end, doubtless even with the blood of Jesus Christ. And forasmuch as he, being both God and man, liveth for ever, and therefore became man to redeem us and couple us unto himself; we do know that we shall live in him throughout all eternity: and in this faith we look for eternal life, when as God shall be all in all. And in this life we resist carnal concupiscences, and suffer not sin to bear rule in our mortal body. We resist not the Holy Ghost, we serve not the flesh, but that serveth us: yea, and although sometime this carnal nature of ours will shew itself, yet we account it a thing unworthy to follow the bent thereof; and, being the children of God, are led with God's Spirit only.

The excellent knowledge of Christians.

An apt similitude.

Let us, for example sake, view these great courtiers and noblemen placed in dignity and authority, who, puffed up with ambition and haughtiness of mind, through a vain conceit of their office and countenance, contemn the acquaintance and familiarity of poor simple men, or use them only to serve their turn and gain. Some other are become so doltish and arrogant, that they will not vouchsafe a beck or nod to those that with both legs most humbly salute them. They are grown into all madness and folly; blinded with their high office

A similitude.

and calling, which is a thing mere vain; for it is not their own, but another's; not in them, but without them, as all other the goods of fortune are. Which thing if such men do in their fleeting and miserable estimation of this fickle world, why do not Christians a great deal more call to mind their dignity and estimation, who are already redeemed with the pure and precious blood of Christ, the Son of God? Surely it is our parts once to begin to have consideration of our worthy office and calling. We are the sons of God; why do we therefore give the reins to sin and wickedness? For, as a certain writer finely saith:

Hugo.

Man is most precious in God's sight.

"I may not account myself vile, in whom God was so greatly delighted, that he chose death rather than he would lose me[1]." We are now the sons of God, endued with the justice of God, and washed from our sins by the blood of his Son. Let us then resist wicked and impure affections; and let us think them to be too vile for us to obey; to the which end those words of the Apostle do serve:

Rom. xiii.

"Have no care for your flesh, to satisfy the lusts of it." Be you, saith he, masters, and let the flesh be your servants; for the servant of the flesh wandereth in darkness. But "the night is passed, and the day shineth upon us Christians: let us

Rom. xiii.

[1 *Redemisti*. proprio sanguine....Homo, appende te ex pretio.—Hugon. Cardinal. Tom. II. fol. 187. 4. in Psal. 73 (74). 2. Venet. 1600.—Homo deberet appendere et considerare dignitatem suam ex pretio quo redemptus est, scilicet in sanguine Jesu Christi, Agni immaculati et incontaminati.—Ibid. Tom. III. fol. 45. 4.]

cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light: let us walk honestly, as in the day-time:" let us give continual thanks to our merciful and loving Father, who hath promoted and called us into the most noble and divine fellowship of his Son Christ. Let us have a careful care, that we never commit anything unworthy so excellent a calling; and with a kind of holy and heavenly contempt despise this wicked world, with the prince thereof. Let us keep ourselves unspotted of the same, and suffer not ourselves to be taken with glittering and vain shews of worldly things. For it is the will of God that we should covet and aspire after high and heavenly things, and contemn and tread under foot all mundane and earthly things.

The sum.

Hitherto I have spoken of the necessity of good works, and for what cause Christians ought to do the same; of the difference between the works of the faithful and unfaithful; and last of all, of the dignity of christian men's works, passing and much excelling the actions of all other nations and professions. Now it resteth that I descend particularly to the works of those three callings and conditions, in one of the which all good men ought to settle themselves; being the scope and end whereunto all young men's studies and labours ought to be directed and referred: I mean the state ecclesiastical, political, and œconomical. For touching the works comprehended in the commandments of the first table, properly respecting our duty towards God,

out of the which these other issue and flow, I shall peradventure speak more in their proper place: now my bent and purpose is, to deal with those virtues which are branches of the second table, and incur, and, as it were, shew themselves in the eyes of the world, in every estate and vocation.

Man ought to have great care of himself, whether he be alone, or with company.

And because in what state or vocation soever men live, they have either to do publicly with others, or meditate and study privately with themselves; I think it very needful to admonish them of their duty, as well when they are at home and in their closet, as when they be abroad in company, and confer with others: of the which two things whether men ought to have greater care, because of the perils and temptations, which in every time and place do assault and molest them, it seemeth very hard to judge and pronounce.

Company of the vulgar dangerous.

There hath been some, I know, that thought it a great furtherance to virtue, if a man would sequester himself from the world, and as much as it is possible to avoid company. One of the philosophers, whose name cometh not now to my remembrance, used this kind of speech: "I never was more unlike a man, than when I came from the multitude of men." Seneca, writing to his friend Lucilius, counselleth him after this manner: "Thou dost demand my opinion, what I think most convenient for thee to avoid. I would have thee come seldom or never amongst the vulgar; for their conversation is hurtful unto man: thou shalt come from them either more covetous,

Seneca, Epist. 7. ad Lucilium. Lib. i.

cruel, or uncourteous. Thou must needs either follow them, or hate them[1]." The company and example of men doubtless doth both offend honest natures, and, unless they be very well stayed, spotteth and corrupteth them: that we may justly account the troop and multitude of men to be that broad and wide gate, which leadeth into eternal destruction.

Again, man being alone is subject to many grievous temptations and perils. Crates the philosopher, when he saw a young man walking alone, asked of him what he did alone. "I talk with myself," quoth the young man. "Yea," said Crates, "but beware then that thou talk not with an ill man[2]." We are wont to watch and keep men, either distract or grievously sick, lest they then hurt or mischief themselves: how much more ought we to have an eye to ourselves, when we are alone, grievously taken and infected with original sin! And it is out of all controversy, that mo[3] sins, both in weight and number, are committed by them that live solitarily, than by those that frequent the society of men. Eve being alone was tempted and vanquished by the serpent. Murders, robberies, and thefts are devised in solitariness. David in his chamber alone is carried to commit great wickedness. The devil tempted Christ in solitariness.

Seneca, Epist. 10. Lib. i.

Man is in great peril, being solitary and alone.

God created man to society, and not to solitariness. They were created two, male and

Man created of God to society, not to solitariness.

[1 Sen. Epist. Lib. i. Ep. vii. The passage is extracted from different parts of the Epistle.]
[2 Ibid. Epist. x. init.] [3 Mo: more.]

female, of whose marriage God hath built and derived his church: and our Saviour Christ promiseth that he will be present with two or three gathered together in his name. And even so were sacraments ordained in the church for the society of men.

But I break off this comparison between solitariness and society: for it appeareth by these few words, that neither of them are without grievous temptations and dangers; and therefore both of them to have great need of instruction and consolation.

I will therefore speak first of man's duty being alone in his study and bedchamber, as he is sequestered from all fellowship and company of men.

The duty of man's mind.

And because man consisteth of soul and body, I will say somewhat briefly of both those parts. The mind of man is to be garnished and informed with the science and knowledge of many excellent matters; but especially with those which are available to a blessed life, to correct and frame manners to true religion and sincere worshipping of God: for unto this end ought we to refer all our studies and endeavours. And without these things no man can rightly have the name of a Christian, nor enjoy assured hope of eternal salvation, nor yet a quiet and peaceable conscience. Let our minds differ very much from the purposes and intents of the infidels, who neither seek nor do these things perfectly or sincerely, not led with the love and fear of God; but are kindled to virtue either with desire of vainglory, or are stayed from vice for fear of

punishment; and respect nothing less than the glory of God, the profit of their brethren, or the salvation of their own souls. But we that profess Christ ought most ardently to embrace virtues, inflamed with an earnest desire to enlarge and set out God's glory: neither ought we to respect external discipline only; but to do well with a single eye in the sight of the living God, and to be fruitful in good works before men, having always the assistance of God's Spirit, to lighten our reason, and to guide our will. Reason. Will.
So it shall come to pass that, faith shining and burning like a bright lamp before our actions, we shall not be puffed up with a vain conceit and opinion of ourselves, but shall acknowledge our own corruption, and behave ourselves humbly before God and man; daily desiring mercy and remission of sins, and reposing all our confidence and hope of salvation in the mercy of God through his Son Christ. The solace and comfort, which ariseth of actions and virtues thus done in christian men's breasts is so great, that no tongue or pen can counterpoise the same, albeit I have endeavoured before to shadow (as it were) and give a gleamish[1] thereof. And thus much I thought good to speak of the mind: now I will come to man's body also.

Let every man so diet and govern his body, that he may conserve the same safe and sound, so far as he possibly may. For we ought to have a care of our health, to the end that we may be more ready to do The ordering of the body.

[1 Gleamish: glimpse.]

our duty in our vocations and callings. It behoveth us to regard, that we neither corrupt our bodies with riot and surfeiting, (for we ought to eat and drink so much that our power and strength may be refreshed and not oppressed,) nor yet that we do not enervate and weaken the same with over much abstinence and famine; for in both these there is sin and offence. Therefore, as in all other things, so in this also, mediocrity is a commendable and necessary virtue: although besides a certain perpetual sobriety and temperancy in diet, which we ought to observe, we must sometime, as occasion offereth, compress and subdue the wanton looseness of our flesh with fasting, abstinence, and spare diet; because most commonly lust is a companion of gluttony. The body must be chastened therefore, and brought into subjection; neither may we lawfully "take care for the flesh, to satisfy the lusts of it."

Wilful murder committed against ourselves.

And as those that impair and decay their health with riot and surfeiting, breeding diseases, and hastening their own end, are murdereres of themselves; even so they that weaken and utterly destroy their bodies with immoderate abstinence and other austerity of life, are in no less fault, whiles they make their bodies unable to execute anything, unto whom the Apostle chargeth us to give honour; and therefore did write unto his scholar Timothy, that he should "drink no more water, but to use a little wine for the weakness of his stomach:" albeit I shall not need to speak many words in this be-

half; for few there are found now-a-days, that offend in that part. Every man therefore must guide his body with skill and discretion; and beware that he destroy not that which God hath given unto him to cherish and conserve. All the order of our diet, motion, and exercise, together with all trimming and dressing of the body, ought to respect sanity and good health; but without delicacy and nice pleasure.

As in diet it is a fault, and almost Epicurism, to seek delicacy with all our care; so to mislike cleanliness, and to refuse good and pleasant meats, which both content our nature, and conserve the same, is a point of mere folly: whereof Seneca writeth very finely. "As," saith he, "earnestly to desire delicate things is a point of liquorishness; so to refuse things usual and profitable is madness. Philosophy requireth frugality, and not misery." He doth well, verily, that drinketh water to keep himself low: and he doth as well, that drinketh wine for the weakness of his stomach. He that eateth salads and herbs doth well: and he doth as well that eateth flesh, boiled or roasted. In which sense Seneca also hath written thus: "He is a worthy man that so useth earthen vessels, as though they were plate: and he is as worthy that useth plate, as if it were earthen vessels. That is a weak and infirm mind, that can not use well riches[1]." Even so let us think that to be but a super-

God hath given us things not only for necessity, but also for lawful pleasure.

Seneca de Paupertate.

[1 Sen. Epist. v. Quemadmodum delicatas res, &c....non pœnam...Magnus ille est, qui fictilibus, &c. ...pati non posse divitias.]

stitious mind, that dare not eat delicate meats, especially such as may without great cost and labour be obtained. For "all things are clean to those that are clean," and "nothing is to be refused, if it be taken with giving of thanks." For "that which entereth in at the mouth doth not defile a man."

And yet I would not that any man should use my words as a cloke and defence to lust, riotousness, and prodigality, whereunto now-a-days most part of men are given without any measure: I mean nothing less, and this world hath no need of pleasant pillows and soft cushions. For now even many [who] are most precise make no scruple to tumble and wallow in all kind of prodigality, as in dainty fare, in costly apparel, and sumptuous building: and for the most part of them, they make no conscience in spoiling houses of learning and study, and in taking away the patrimony of Christ's church. But touching the first part, they answer that "meats, apparel, and buildings, are matters mere indifferent, and defend them with the cloke of christian liberty. They are things indifferent, I confess, if a man do so use them. But when they are coveted with extreme greediness, shewed forth with ostentation, and wasted prodigally; the things that were lawful in their own nature, are now polluted and abused. The Apostle maketh an apt and evident distinction between things indifferent: 'All things,' saith he, 'are clean to those that are clean; but to those that are spotted and

How things indifferent be abused.

Calv. Inst. Lib. iii. cap. 16.

Tit. i.

unbelievers nothing is clean, seeing their mind and conscience are polluted and defiled.' And why are the rich men cursed, who have their consolation, who are full, who laugh, who sleep in ivory beds, who join land to land, whose banquets are full of harmony and music? Doubtless, ivory, gold, meats, and music, are the good gifts of God, appointed by his providence for the use and comfort of man, and there is no sin in their natures. But when God hath blessed us with these his good gifts, if we use them with excess, filthy pleasure, vain jactation; and, being never satisfied, do still groan and gape after more; we abuse God's good gifts, and pollute our bodies and consciences. Let men cut off then, in the use of these things, immoderate lust, prodigality, vanity, and arrogancy, and frame their natures to sobriety; and the use of God's creatures shall be both lawful and holy. And this my counsel I offer as well to the poor husbandman, as to the gentleman: for they in their callings, so far as their ability will stretch, exceed in prodigality and riot; and if they keep a better stay herein than others, it is rather for want of power than of will. And that vulgar speech is commonly verified, 'Under a frieze coat oftentimes there lurketh a purple mind;' and again, 'Under purple and silk an humble and gentle nature.' This is the best then, for every man to live according to his calling and order, either homely or worshipfully; but therewithal to remember, that all men are fed and sustained of God, not to riot,

Luke vi. Amos vi. Isai. v.

Philip. iv.

but to live; and to learn with the Apostle, to 'be content with that they have, &c.'[1]"

Lib. xxi. Epist. 16. Necessity and pleasure conjoined in God's creatures.

Seneca inveigheth very earnestly against the abuse of necessary things: his words in sum are these: "Nature hath commanded, that we should have a care of ourselves; but to be over-careful it is a fault. Nature hath mingled pleasure with things necessary, not that we should desire them; but that those things, without the which we cannot live, might be more welcome unto us. If pleasure come alone, it is looseness[2]: we ought then to withstand the beginning: it is more easy to keep them out at the first, than afterward to expel them. Yea, but thou wilt say, bear with me but a little: but this little encroacheth, and when you would, you can not make an end[3]."

Therefore, seeing we know so perfectly our own imbecility, let us be quiet, and stay ourselves. Let us commit our weak mind neither to wine, women, delectation, ambition, adulation, neither to any vain pleasure. It is wisdom to avoid deep and slippery places: our feet are ticklish enough upon the firm ground. Thou wilt haply object that common voice of the Stoics: "You promise great things, and you command overhard things. We are men, and cannot thus bridle ourselves. We will lament but a little, we will desire but a pittance. We will be angry, but soon pleased."

[1 This whole passage is a translation from Calvin, Institut. Lib. III. cap. xix. § 9.

[2 Latin, Si suo veniat jure, luxuria est.]

[3 Sen. Epist. cxvi.]

But dost thou know why we cannot do these things? We cannot, because we think that we cannot. For the truth is otherwise: we defend our faults, because we are delighted in doing of them, and we had rather nourish them than neglect them. Ill will is the cause, and we pretend want of power. But to return to the matter. The godly make no difference of meats in respect of salvation: for they know right well that Christianism consisteth not therein, but in other far more weighty matters. To conclude, we must drive away hunger and thirst with those meats and drinks; and such diet and apparel are to be used as the constitution of men's bodies and conservation of their health seemeth to require: for no certain and exquisite precepts can be prescribed in these matters.

Physic necessary, and physicians to be esteemed.

And if it come to pass that we fall into some sickness and disease, let us desire the physician's counsel and help; whose knowledge and aid yet we ought so to use, that we put our chief confidence in the heavenly physician, the living God: lest the same betide us that came upon Asa king of Israel, who was stricken with a disease in his legs, whereby he was exceedingly pained and tormented, [and] sought not for help at God's hand. Men ought first of all to crave God's aid and help, and then to seek for the physician. For the wise Sirach commandeth men to honour the physician, whom God hath created for our necessity: he addeth that this art was given by God to men, that he might be praised in his wonders,

2 Chron. xvi.

Eccius. xxxviii.

and they recover their health. Let us mark those words which follow a little after: "My son," saith he, "in thy sickness call upon the Lord, and he will heal thee. Cease from sin, and cleanse thy heart from all offences: then send for the physician, for the Lord hath created him; neither let him depart from thee at such time as thou hast need of him." I thought good to use thus much speech in this matter, because of some men, that both think and speak amiss of physicians; and in the physician impiously contemn God, and in physic a singular gift of God's goodness toward man. For by the physician, as by a minister, God expelleth diseases; and by physic, as by an instrument, he conserveth health, and restoreth the same again, being lost.

Great consideration we ought to have then of our duty toward ourselves, when we are alone. Marcus Cicero highly praised Scipio the African, for that he was wont to say that he "was never less idle than when he had leisure, nor never less alone than when he was alone[1]." Which was a worthy speech, saith he, and fit for such a man. And the Epicure is commended by Seneca, for that he willed his scholars always to imagine that they had one at their elbow, viewing their doings. "Many offences are avoided," saith he, "if a witness stand by us[2]." But Seneca his counsel in another place is more grave and wholesome: that

Cicero. Lib. iii. Officiorum. Great care for ourselves being alone.

Epist. 11. Lib. i.

Epist. 41. Lib. i.

[1] Cic. de Offic. III. i. init.]
[2] Hoc, mi Lucili, Epicurus præcepit, etc.—Sen. Epist. xi. prop. fin.]

we should certainly persuade ourselves that God is always present. His words are these: "So I say indeed, Lucili, the Holy Spirit sitteth within us, as it were, a watchman and an observer of our life; and as we behave ourselves toward him, even so he dealeth with us. Surely there is no good man without God[3]." Which lesson let every christian man learn, and think with himself, as the troth is, that when he is most alone, he hath many witnesses and eyes watching and beholding him: for into what secret place soever he withdraw himself, he hath present with him the living God, his holy angel, his own conscience, from whom it is not possible with any policy to hide and keep secret his cogitations and actions.

Man is never alone.

When therefore we have shut our closet-doors and windows, and drawn the curtains of our beds, and fall to devise or do anything; let us first consider whether it be honest or unhonest: if reason tell us that it is foul and vile, and yet wanton will and furious affections forcibly carry us to do that which reason dissuadeth, the rather because we see no man present to control us; then let us remember that God's eyes are open upon[4] our doings, and his presence in all places, and therefore not absent from us. That saying of St Augustine is memo-

God seeth our deeds and thoughts.

[3 Ita dico, Lucili. Sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos: hic prout a nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat. Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est.—Id. Epist. xli. prop. init.]

[4 even, 1676.]

rable: "God is in himself, as the beginning and ending; in the world, as the author and governor; in the angels, as sweetness and comeliness; in the church, as the goodman is in his house; in the soul, as a bridegroom in his chamber; in just men, as a helper and defender; in wicked men, as terror and horror[1]." And St Gregory: "God is absent from no place, and yet he is far off from evil men's cogitations: for he is not far distant where he is most absent: where he is absent in grace, he is there present in vengeance[2]."

Now if we would be loth to have a man or a little child to come upon us as we are working wickedness; how much more ought we to stand in awe and reverence of God's majesty! Do we blush at the eyes of a child, and care we not for the sight of the living God? especially seeing that he, being now a witness, will one day be our judge.

A just and profitable examination of ourselves.

Let us pause a little, and as it were reason the matter thus with ourselves: Shall I make the Holy Spirit sorrowful, that the wicked spirit may rejoice? Hath Christ therefore redeemed me with his precious

[1 Deus et in seipso sicut A et Ω; in mundo sicut rector et auctor; in angelis sicut sapor et decus; in ecclesia sicut paterfamilias in domo; in animo sicut sponsus in thalamo; in justis sicut adjutor et protector; in reprobis sicut pavor et horror.—August. super illud, Matth. vi. *Pater noster*, &c.]

[2 Qui nimirum cum sit semper omnipotens, sic intendit omnibus, ut adsit singulis; sic adest singulis, ut simul omnibus nunquam desit. Nam etsi quosdam peccantes deserit, eisdem tamen ipsis adest per judicium, quibus deesse cernitur per adjumentum.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Opp. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. XVI. in cap. xxii. B. Job. cap. viii. 12. Tom. I. col. 505.]

blood, that I should wilfully become Satan's bond-slave? Shall I come to the Lord's table with this life? Shall I thus look for the coming of Christ? Shall death take me in this case? These and such like considerations if we use in the middle of temptation, we shall not so forwardly commit sin and wickedness.

A consideration that we are the sons of God.

Hereunto we may add this worthy consideration and admonition, that we are made the sons and heirs of God, and the fellow-heirs of the Lord Jesus. Which dignity in God's mercy if we remember (as we never ought to forget the same), we shall be moved with a certain liberal fear and shamefacedness to abstain from vice. Surely he that calleth to mind, that he is the son and heir of God, and the brother and fellow-heir of Jesus Christ, will repress sin, and stay himself from wickedness, not so much for fear of the last day and torments of hell, as lest he should offend and displease so loving and merciful a Father. He that believeth with St Paul, that his body is the temple of the Holy Ghost dwelling in him, will not wilfully wallow in iniquity. He that believeth that he is a citizen with the saints in heaven, will follow the virtues in the saints, both in piety toward God, and charity toward his neighbour.

A consideration of the holy angel alway beholding us.

The second witness or watchman of man's doings, when he is alone, is the holy angel, whom God hath appointed to be his guarder and guider. And what care ought we to take, that with our filthy and abominable life we do not alienate and drive

away from us so faithful a keeper! For the good spirits are not delighted with shameful and detestable deeds, as devils are, but with pureness and holiness of life.

1 Cor. xi. The Apostle St Paul, writing to the Corinthians, saith that a woman ought to be covered in the congregation, whereby she may acknowledge and testify, that she is subject to her husband: and he addeth, "because of the angels," shewing that if she be not moved with the shame and reverence of men, she should yet [feel] that she ought to do it in respect of the angels present and beholding her.

Whatsoever therefore thou hast in hand, if thou desire to avoid the light and to work the deeds of darkness, yet remember, I say, the clear eyes of the bright angel viewing and beholding thee; and let the awe and reverence of him stay thy enterprise, restrain thy appetite, and bridle the unlawful concupiscence. The walls and doors may keep back man, that he cannot come unto thee; but the subtle nature of an angel will pierce the strongest and thickest places. God then is present, and his angel seeth thee, O wicked and damned man, if thou contemn such overlookers.

The third witness whereof I made mention before, which registereth and as it were enrolleth all and every of our thoughts and actions, is the conscience; and Chrysostom and Bernard nameth her as[1] a witness, a judge, a tormentor: who if she sleep for a time, yet she breaketh out at

Chrysost. in Psal. l. Bernard. Plato. Lib. i. de Repub.

[1] is, 1576.]

the last, especially at the hour of death, and giveth a thousand evidences against men[2]. The conscience, in usual and common speech, is accounted instead of a thousand witnesses. Seneca, amongst many other golden lessons, writeth hereof after this manner: "Thou mayest then think thyself happy, when thou canst live openly, when thy house covereth thee, but doth not hide thee: for many men make walls and houses, not so much to live commodiously, as to sin covertly. I will speak but one thing, whereby thou mayest judge of men's manners and conditions: thou shalt scarcely find one man in a country, that will live with his gates open. A guilty conscience, rather than arrogancy and safety, built doors and gates. But what availeth it to lie secret, and to avoid the eyes and ears of men? For a good conscience calleth company, whereas an evil conscience is careful and fearful being alone. If our doings be honest, what matter is it if all men know them? but if they be unhonest, what commodity is it that others are ignorant of that which tormenteth thyself? A wretch and a miser art thou, if thou con-

Our conscience always watcheth us. Seneca. Epist. 43. Lib. v.

[2 Ὁ γὰρ ἀδέκαστος δικαστὴς, τὸ συνειδὸς λέγω. —Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. XVII. Tom. IV. p. 134. Opp. Par. 1718-38.

Nulla pœna gravior est prava conscientia. Mala conscientia propriis agitur stimulis.—Bernard. Opp. Lut. Par. 1640. p. 1083. *De Inter. Domo*, cap. XLV.

Ἐπειδάν τις ἐγγὺς ᾖ τοῦ οἴεσθαι τελευτήσειν, εἰσέρχεται αὐτῷ δέος καὶ φροντὶς, etc....ὁ μὲν οὖν εὑρίσκων ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πολλὰ ἀδικήματα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες, θαμὰ ἐγειρόμενος, etc.—Platon. Respubl. I. § 5. (III. i. 10. Bek.)]

temn such a witness, &c.[1]" Many other notable sentences are left unto us in the works of the ethnicks touching this witness, the conscience; which because I have cited plentifully in my book of the conscience, I will omit to collect any more into this room. And for that, as I have said before, our conscience seemeth sometime either to sleep, or to give us a lovely and friendly countenance; much like a creditor who upon some considerations now and then beareth with his debtor, and giveth him a longer day of pay, but if his patience be too much abused, and no day observed and kept, he bringeth him to an outlawry; even so conscience looketh stern at the last, and calleth his debtor to a hard and weighty account.

A similitude.

The wise and well-meaning debtor, who goeth either upon the score or book, hath oftentimes an eye unto the score, lest he be over-reckoned, and run in the lash: even so we, if there be any forecare in us to depart this world quietly, and to make an even reckoning, ought oftentimes to resort unto our creditor, the conscience, and to have an especial regard, that we may well pass our account with him. Let us then every day once at the least, and especially at night, when we go to bed, open our tables and notes of remembrances, and take a view as it were, how we have spent that day. And when we have laid down our actions severally, let us inquire of our conscience her judgment and opinion: and she out of

Conscience resembled to a creditor.

[1 Sen. Epist. Lib. 1. Ep. 43. Tunc felicem to esse judica, &c.]

hand will open unto us, wherein we have either done well or evil. So shall we, as the Apostle exhorteth us, "work our salvation with trembling and fear:" we shall shake off security and carelessness, and sincerely walk in our vocation and calling.

Which order was diligently observed, even amongst the ethnicks: for we read that Pythagoras gave in commandment to his scholars, that they should straitly keep his custom[2]. And Seneca hath a like example of one Sextius; whose words, being full of wit and godliness, must needs be both pleasant and profitable to the readers. "This was Sextius' fashion, every night, when he went to rest, to examine himself, saying: What fault hast thou mended this day? what vice hast thou resisted? wherein art thou better? Stay thy hasty nature, and thou shalt come with more moderation before the judge. In this disputation thou wast over hot and contentious: meddle not with the ignorant henceforth. Thou dealt oversharply with that man, and hast rather offended him than amended him: hereafter take care, not only to say the truth, but also consider, whether thou speak to one that will and can abide to hear it, &c. This is my manner, and thus I use to do when the candle is put out: I search and sift my words and deeds, I hide nothing from myself, I pass nothing over: for why should I, moved either with fear or shame,

Pythagoras' scholars, when they go to bed, call themselves to a reckoning for the day spent. Seneca, Lib. iii. de Ira.

[2 μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι, Πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν, &c.—Pythag. Aur. Carm. 40, sqq. Poët. Min. Gr. Tom. I.]

do so? seeing I may safely say unto myself, I forgive thee now, but amend this gear, and see thou do so no more." And Seneca addeth of his own immediately: "What can be more commendable," saith he, "than this kind of trial and examination? What a golden, sound, and quiet sleep must needs follow; when as the mind is either commended, or amended, with the grave and upright information of a man's own manners[1]!"

The heathen men shall condemn impenitent Christians at the last day.

These heathen men shall rise against us at the last day, and condemn us: for they, moved with love of civil virtues, have daily and deeply looked into their lives spent; but we, that profess Christ, are secure and negligent, and never cast our eyes upon yesterday, nor purpose to perform anything the day following. If we would inure ourselves to this custom, and practise the same but a few days; it would in short space be both most pleasant unto us, and, unless I be deceived, would also breed and bring forth the fruits agreeable to a christian calling and profession.

But how do we now-a-days most commonly pass the time? Verily we feast and banquet one with another, day by day, and night by night, so long, that neither eye, tongue, hand, nor foot can do their duty; for we are drowned and even buried in surfeiting and drunkenness: so that scarce once a year, much less once a day, we examine our conscience, and record with ourselves, how we have run our race, and spent

[1 Sen. de Ira, Lib. III. cap. 36.]

our age. And yet nightly we lay us down to sleep, and securely snort and snore in our sins: in which case if sudden death should take us in the neck (as no man hath a charter to live until the next morrow), we are but cast-aways and damned creatures. But alack! we think not once upon these matters, blinded with a vain hope of long life: whereof albeit we might receive daily admonition by the example of others, yet we wilfully deceive ourselves, whiles we think that we are exempt out of the common number, and to have a certain especial and particular privilege granted unto us.

Evil custom, cause of security.

If the cause of this security and contempt of good life were demanded of me, I would answer, that continual and daily custom of wicked and sinful life, which obtaineth almost the force of nature, is the occasion thereof. And as it is a very hard thing for a man to subdue his own nature; so is it not very easy to alter use and custom, which they truly account to be almost another nature: experience teacheth, that those vices which are bred and brought up with us, are with much ado pulled up by the roots. Hereunto cometh the nice tenderness of parents in the education of their children; whom they acquaint with all kind of delights and pleasures, even from their infancy. They teach them not to abstain from unchaste and unreverent speech against God and man. They set them out with sumptuous and gorgeous apparel of divers colours, sometime like routers, sometime like ruffians, but seldom like honest

Corrupt parents.

folks. They breed in them fierceness, boldness, and impudence: they neglect reverency, comeliness, and honesty. Whereby it cometh to pass, that they cast away care of obedience to their parents, lowliness to their elders, and courtesy toward their equals, and in every thing think their lust to be law. So are they not reclaimed from vice, either with fear of God or shame of man: they have no care of religion and piety toward God, much less of virtue and honesty toward the world. For why? the parents now-a-days do corrupt and cast away their children with domestical examples in the beginning; so that afterward, when they would, they are not able to reform the same: whereas godly and virtuous parents ought not to say or do any thing in presence of their children, that may give a shew of wantonness and dishonesty; but so to frame their lives and behave themselves, that in them, as in a perfect pattern and example, their children might see what is fair and beautiful. Otherwise it shall come to pass that their own flesh and blood shall exclaim and accuse them with that young man who said: "I may impute my loose and riotous nature to my father; for he kept me not in subjection, nor gave me any good example of life, but rather inflamed me to pursue my appetite." Of those youths, then, that are thus depraved in their young years, as it were in the green herb, either with evil parents or schoolmasters, what good can be looked for at their hand, when they come to man's estate?

Children shall accuse their parents for their negligent education.

Surely, surely, so many adulterers, robbers, stealers, cutpurses, coggers, carders, dicers, sellers of lands, and bankrupts, issue out of that lake and filthy puddle of negligent and perverse education; whereas carnal and senseless men impute it, blindly and untruly, to the preaching of the gospel, so brightly shining amongst us, and condemning all dishonesty and wickedness.

A hard thing to break evil custom.

Away then with wicked use and custom, especially in young and tender age; which will be a let and stay from virtue, when men come to ripe years. That holy martyr St Cyprian said truly: "No man can shake off that suddenly or quickly, which by continuance of time hath grown into use. For when will that man follow frugality, who hath been accustomed unto two or three courses of delicate dishes? Or how will he be content with coarse and simple apparel, who blazed and shined in purple and gold, when he was a child? But rather love of wine will lead them, pride will puff them up, anger will inflame them, greediness will prick them forward, ambition will delight them, and lust will destroy them[1]." So that it will be a matter exceeding hard to bridle offences, which by custom are almost turned into nature.

Cyprianus.

The commodity of good custom.

And yet we must labour and endeavour to restrain our carnal appetites, if we hope to be saved. You will ask of me, how shall

[1 Qui possibilis, aiebam, est tanta conversio, ut repente ac perniciter exuatur, quod vel genuinum situ materiæ naturalis obduruit, vel usurpatum diu senio vetustatis inolevit?... Quando parsimoniam, &c.—Cypr. ad Donat. Opp. p. 2. Oxon. 1700.]

we do this? I answer: Accustom yourselves but a while to good things, as you have a great while to evil things, and you shall find no small profit. The matter may haply seem hard in the beginning: but there is nothing, as Seneca saith, invincible to man's mind. In process of time the pleasure that a man must needs feel in this exercise will mitigate the pain and labour; and we shall find the words of our Saviour Christ, spoken to his disciples, to be true to our comfort: "My yoke is sweet, and my burden is light." For, as St Hierome saith: "The custom of vices causeth the way of virtue to seem hard and unpleasant[1]: which if we apply to the better part, the way of justice will be found more smooth[2]."

Matt. [xi.]

Stilpho.

And if Stilpho (of whom Cicero writeth), being naturally given to the love of wine and women, was able through the precepts of philosophy so to master and bridle his vicious and carnal nature, that no man could never by his behaviour conceive any suspicion of drunkenness or whoredom[3]; why should Christians think it impossible with the assistance of God's grace and holy Spirit to tame and subdue the old man, that he may not reign in our mortal bodies, and to expel wicked and corrupt custom? Could a paynim vanquish

[1] Unplenty, 1576.]

[2] Asperam enim nobis et insuavem virtutum viam nimia facit vitiorum consuetudo: quæ si in partem alteram transferatur, sicut scriptura dicit, semita justitiæ levis.—(Paulinus ap.) Hieron. Epist. xiv. ad Celantiam. Opp. Tom. I. p. 42. Antverp. 1579.]

[3 Cic. de Fato, 5.]

nature, and cannot Christians bridle custom? especially if they endeavour earnestly, and labour diligently to withstand pleasures. And if through human imbecility they now and then slip, and lose (as it were) their handfast; yet let them not quail therefore, but call for his help, who always putteth to his hand, and will not suffer those utterly to fall away from him. For he sendeth unto them his Holy Spirit, who stirreth up in their hearts heavenly motions, and guideth their studies and endeavours to an effect and purpose.

All good men see and perceive, by that which hath been spoken before, how needful it is for Christians to use a certain reverence toward themselves, when they are alone, and to beware, that they neither do nor think any thing unhonest. Of this duty Cicero had a consideration, in that he wrote to his son Mark: "There is no part of man's life, neither in public nor private matters, neither in conference with others, neither in meditating with yourself, that can want duty; and in observing thereof doth the honesty of man's life consist, and dishonesty in neglecting the same[4]." For although the fear and reverence of God's majesty, present in all places, and searching man's reins and hearts, and therewithal the holy angel our keeper and watchman, ought to stay and fear us from sin and wickedness; yet besides those things, that duty and reverence, which we owe unto ourselves ought to bridle and let the same.

[4 Cic. de Offic. I. 2.]

Sextius' custom.

And to the end that we may imitate and follow Sextius his use and custom, and shew that shamefacedness and reverence, which is convenient for ourselves, when we are solitary and sequestered from company,

Considerations moving men to godliness.

let the shortness of our life, and the innumerable perils and dangers, which compass us in on every side, be set always before our eyes. The ethnicks have set out the same with many fine similitudes: but because they may have less weight with

Psal. xc. Isai. xl. Job xiv. 1 Pet. i. James i.

Christians, I pray them to consider the holy scriptures, who compare our life to green grass withering, to the flowers of the field fading away, to a deluding dream.

Wisd. v.

But the wise man seemed of purpose to have gathered them all into one room, which we ought to read and ponder deeply, that in consideration of the extreme vanity of our life we may be more circumspect in our conversation, and be inflamed with an ardent desire to come to our perpetual and heavenly habitation. The life of all men, saith he, even of those that are most wealthy and mighty, but especially of the

1. ungodly, "vanish away like a shadow," (than the which there can scarcely any thing be found more transitory; and yet Pindarus, extenuating man's life significantly, termeth man but "a shadow's dream[1].")

2. 2, Man's life flieth away as "a noise or

3. cry, which suddenly vanisheth away:" 3, or like a ship, which cutteth the waves of the sea, and leaveth no sign of passage

4. behind it: 4, and as a bird which flieth

[1 σκιᾶς ὄναρ. Pyth. viii. 95.]

through the air, and leaveth no token of her passage: 5, or as the arrow shot at a mark leaveth not any trace: 6, as the dust is scattered with the wind: 7, as the frost is dissolved with the heat of the sun: 8, as the smoke is blown away with the wind: 9, or as a guest is forgotten of his host, where he lodged but one night: 10, as the bells which bubble up in the water, whereof some are greater, and some lesser, but all break and fall in a moment: even so, amongst men, some are great and mighty, some learned and rich, and other some are poor, abject and miserable; but in what state soever they be, they die without any exception, one after another: so that, as the prophet saith, "although we come to threescore and ten, or fourscore years, yet the passage of our life is swift, and we fly away."

5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Psal. xc.

Against deferring of repentance.

But those that are loth to restrain the delights of the flesh will answer, that they will repent when they fall sick and lie on their death-bed. I grant they may do so, and God's mercy is never shut up: but I would have them also consider, how many impediments and stumbling-blocks lie in the way, hindering them from true repentance. For, that I may omit the care about a man's will and testament, for his wife and children, and the grief and pain of the disease, and many other such things which may seem to be matters of smaller importance: what assaults doth Satan use to give in that case, and what policies doth he not practise to bring the seely sick man into dreadful despair of his salvation? For then even in a

The practice of Satan at our last hour.

moment he calleth to man's remembrance, and setteth before his eyes, whatsoever he hath thought, purposed, said or done throughout all his life: and such offences as he hath committed, being ill enough in themselves, he amplifieth and augmenteth, that he may shake their faith, and pluck from them the anchor of salvation and eternal life. Hereunto may be added the agony of a guilty conscience, the grievous fear of death at hand, the heavy and bitter cogitation of the judgment-seat of God, and the horror of hell-fire; all which things are wonderful obstacles to true repentance: so that it were nothing else but mere presumption to defer it to the last hour. And surely repentance in such sort extorted is not voluntary, but compulsive, and most commonly lame and unperfit. If we be wise, let us amend and repent, when we can offend: otherwise the common saying will be verified of us, "Sin hath forsaken man, and not man sin." And it is to be feared, lest, if we amend not when we may, we cannot when we would. The judgments of Almighty [God] are profound and unsearchable in punishing men's faults. For as in his goodness and mercy [he] giveth time and space to men that are willing to repent, and endureth offenders with great patience and longanimity, to bring them to righteousness of life; so when he seeth a man wilful, obstinate, and contemning his mercy, he withdraweth his grace and favour, and giveth him over into a reprobate sense, and looketh not any more for his conversion. And God hath appointed unto every man

Those that repent not when they may, cannot when they would.

his time and measure, beyond which they cannot proceed in their mischiefs, and beyond the which he will not contain and stay his plagues and punishments: the remembrance whereof ought to move us to walk in innocency and holiness of life; to use that dutiful reverence toward ourselves, which is requisite, when we are solitary and alone; and to contain and stay ourselves from sin and wickedness.

We ought to consider our short time and fickle state.

But there is nothing more effectual to bridle and restrain men from devising and doing filthiness and sin, when they are solitary and alone, or when they have overlashed themselves and done amiss, [than] with Sextius, before they take their rest, to examine and call an account how they passed the day: then the often consideration and remembrance of sudden deaths, wherewithal many mortal men have pitifully and dreadfully perished in all times and ages. Pliny in his natural story hath a whole chapter intituled, "Of sudden deaths," and so hath Valerius Maximus[1]; where they write that many upon most light causes have suddenly died. One at Rome, as he went forth at his chamber-door, did but strike his finger a little on the door-cheek, and immediately fell down dead. Another did but stumble as he went forth, and died by and by. An embassador of the Rhodians, after he had declared his message to the senate, departing forth of the council-

Plinius Hist. Lib. vii. cap. 52. Val. Max.

Examples.

[1 Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. VII. cap. 52. (51.) Tom. III. p. 200. Paris. 1827. Valer. Max. Lib. IX. cap. xii. *De mortibus non vulgaribus.*]

chamber, fell down by the way, and suddenly died. Æschylus the poet lying on sleep bare-headed near the sea, a great sea-fowl, thinking his bald head to be a stone, whereon he might break the shell-fish which he carried, let it fall upon his head, wherewith he was killed out of hand. Lucian, a man learned and eloquent, but a derider of all religion, and namely a blasphemer of christian religion, travelling by the way, was suddenly set upon by dogs and worried; a death meet for such a blasphemer, and a terrible example to all contemners and deriders of religion and godliness.

The scriptures also want not examples.

1 Sam. xxv. The churlish rich man Nabal, who at his sheep-shearing held a feast in his house like a king, but denied to relieve David then persecuted and in distress, within ten days after was smitten of the Lord, and so died.

Acts v. Ananias and Sapphira, pretending that they gave their whole patrimony to the relief of the poor in the primitive church, but indeed reserving a portion to themselves, and so lying to the Holy Ghost, were immediately stricken of God, and so ended their lives, to the fearful example of all hypocrites and dissemblers, and specially in matters pertaining

Acts xii. to religion. Herodes Agrippa, being in most glorious magnificence, and contented to hear himself extolled to be rather a god than a man, was suddenly smitten by the angel of the Lord, and died a most miserable death. The rich man of whom mention is made, that he intended to pull down his barns and granaries, and to build larger, "said to his

soul, Soul, thou hast provision laid up in store for many years; and therefore take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry:" but what became of him? "God said unto him: Thou fool, even this very night shall thy soul be taken from thee; and then who shall have that which thou hast provided?" The example of Nabucodonozor is very terrible, who walking in his palace, and glorying in his strong and stately city Babylon, whiles the words were yet in his mouth, was suddenly stricken with a plague worse than death: for the use of reason was taken away from him, and himself, turned amongst beasts, became as a beast, eating hay like an ox: to teach all posterity ensuing, not to glory in things of this world which are but vain, but that "he which glorieth should glory in the Lord."

Luke xii.

Dan. iv.

Nevertheless I grant it to be true, that as well the godly as the ungodly sometime are taken with sudden death, as that famous and godly Humphrey duke of Gloucester suddenly died in his bed (albeit not without some suspicion of violence); and much like to that was John[1] Hunne, and many others. But howsoever the godly die, dear and acceptable is their death in God's sight; and at what time soever they are taken, they are in ease and refreshing: whereas wicked and ungodly men's death, especially their sudden death, is as the scripture saith, *Mors peccatorum pessima;* which

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

John Hunne.

Psal. xxxiii.

[1 A mistake seemingly for *Richard*. See Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. iv. pp. 183, &c. ed. 1837; and for Duke Humphrey, ibid. Vol. iii. p. 715.]

fearful speech ought to keep good men in awe and fear of God, in reverence toward themselves, and in examining surely of their lives and conversations.

The sum or conclusion, with a similitude.

To conclude this part of reverence and duty toward ourselves, when we are sequestered from company: let us observe and mark what men do in great pestilences and mortalities, how sorrowful they are for their sins, and careful to amend their lives: even so mortal man in consideration of his manifold perils and dangers, which hang over his head every hour, ought to use all diligent consideration to amend and to continue in well doing. But as it fareth in these worldly and temporal matters, so cometh it to pass in spiritual matters. For in adversity, as in pestilences, famine, war, earthquakes, men acknowledge God's just wrath and indignation against sin: but when things go as they would have them, they abuse his goodness and mercy; and never think, neither of the hour of death, nor of the day of doom, nor of the trump of God, nor of the torments of hell, nor yet of the gnashing of teeth, and worm of the conscience which never dieth: the remembrance of which things should never slide out of our minds, whether we rise in the morning, or lay us down to sleep in the evening; whether we dine or sup, whether we enterprise weighty matters, or are willing to sport and recreate ourselves: in all these things we should observe the precept of the wise man, "Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember thy end, and thou shalt

Eccles. vii.

never do amiss."—And hitherto have I written of that duty and honesty which a man ought to use, when he is solitary and alone. Now I will descend to that which is requisite and necessary for him that will live in public and common society.

The second part of this treatise.

The office and duty of a Christian, as he liveth publicly, and hath to do in the world, is of two sorts, to wit, either particular in respect of some state and vocation in the which he liveth, being either a master or a servant, a father or a child, a husband or a wife, &c.; or else general in that he is a man and a christian man, whereby he is linked to others with that fast knot of humanity and pity, wherein he excelleth all other earthly creatures. Of men's degrees and functions I shall (if God permit) entreat hereafter: now I will touch briefly that decent, honest, and godly behaviour of Christians, which ought to shine like a lamp in the eyes of men, that they beholding the same "may glorify God in the day of visitation." The matter is plentiful, and as it were a large field to walk in; but to observe any certain order or method in it, is very hard to please all men: I will therefore select out of the holy scripture that which seemeth unto me most convenient to this purpose, and (as I said) shortly and in few words; minding to give unto my readers an occasion and admonition only of further study and cogitation.

That elect vessel of salvation, St Paul, writeth hereof after this manner: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercifulness of God,

Rom. xii.

that you give up your bodies a quick sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not ye fashioned like unto this world, but be you changed in your shape by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfit will of God." The Apostle exhorteth us to dedicate, consecrate, and vow ourselves wholly to God, that we should offer our bodies as a sacrifice to our God, in mortifying the flesh, in crucifying the old man, in denying of ourselves, and in submitting us totally to his worshipping and service, in obeying him in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life. And immediately after he saith: "Love without dissimulation, hating evil, cleaving to good: affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in giving honour going one before another; not lyther in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope, patient in trouble, instant in prayer: distributing to the necessity of the saints, given to hospitality. Bless them which persecute you; bless, I say, and curse not. Rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep; being of like affection one towards another, being not high-minded, but making yourselves equal to them of the lower sort. Be not wise in your own opinions. Recompense to no man evil for evil, providing aforehand things honest, not only before God, but also in the sight of men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge

not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he be thirsty, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head: be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." How many notable and excellent virtues hath the Apostle couched in this place! as charity, brotherly love, patience, perseverance in prayer, beneficence, hospitality, meekness or gentleness, modesty, desire of peace, and concord, pity, and clemency, with many other of that sort.

Hereunto you may add those things that follow in the next chapter: "Owe nothing to no man, but to love one another; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not lust, and if there be any other commandment, it is in few words comprehended, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Charity worketh not evil to his neighbour; therefore the fulfilling of the law is charity." Rom. xiii.

In this text all the commandments of the law are referred to the love of our neighbour; to wit, in that part that the law was given to restrain injuries respecting civil society and fellowship of men: namely, that no man should be so bold to endamage his neighbour in his body, fame, goods, or any other way that might redound to his annoyance. For he that loveth an-

other from the bottom of his heart is so far from doing injury and wrong, that he will endeavour with all his might to be profitable to his neighbour. And whereas we are commanded to love our neighbour even as ourselves, in this one word not only sincere love is discerned from hypocrisy, but also all duties of charity are exacted and required. The same Apostle writeth also to the Galatians in this wise: "Walk in the Spirit, I say, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh: for the flesh lusteth contrary to the Spirit, and the Spirit contrary to the flesh; these are contrary one to the other, so that ye cannot do that which you would. The deeds of the flesh are manifest, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, worshipping of images, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, sects, envyings, murders, drunkenness, gluttony, and such like: of the which I tell you, as I have told you in times past, that even they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperancy: against such there is no law. They truly that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another." The words of the Apostle are plain enough, and need not any exposition. And his counsel is in sense the very same

Gal. v.

which he giveth to the Romans; that we should tame the flesh, and earnestly resist carnal affections. "If you live after the flesh," saith he, "you shall die: but if through the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live. For those that are led with the Spirit of God, those are the sons of God." And in the same epistle: "For I delight in the law of God after the inner man; but I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and subduing me to the law of sin, which is in my members." And the same author to the Ephesians: "I therefore as a prisoner in the Lord exhort you, that you walk worthy of the vocation wherewith you are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." And a little after: "This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye walk not henceforth, as other gentiles walk, in vanities of their mind; darkened in cogitation, being alienated from the life of God by the ignorance which is in them, through the blindness of their hearts: who, being past feeling, have given themselves over unto wantonness, to work all uncleanness with greediness. But ye have not so learned of Christ; if so be that you have heard him, and have been taught in him, as the truth is in Jesus; to lay down according to the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the lusts of error; to be renewed in the spirit

Rom. viii.

Rom. vii.

Ephes. [iv.]

of your mind; and to put on the new man, which after God is shapen in righteousness and holiness of truth. Wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth unto his neighbour, forasmuch as we are members one of another. Be ye angry and sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. Neither give place to the devil. Let him that stole steal no more, but let him rather labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may give unto him which needeth. Let no filthy communication proceed out of your mouths, but that which is good to edify withal, as oft as need is, that it may minister grace unto the hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, by whom ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and fierceness, and wrath, and crying, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all naughtiness. Be ye courteous one to another, merciful, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you."

Ephes. v.

To the same purpose tend those words of his in the next chapter: "Be you therefore followers of God as dear children; and walk you in love, even as Christ loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour of God. But fornication and all uncleanness, let it not be once named amongst you, as it becometh saints; neither filthiness, neither foolish talking, neither jesting, which are not comely, but rather giving of thanks. For this you know, that no whoremonger, neither unclean person, nor covetous person,

which is a worshipper of images, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God. Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be ye not therefore companions of them. For ye were sometime darkness, but now are you light in the Lord: walk as children of light; (for the fruit of the Spirit [is] in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth;) approving what is acceptable unto the Lord. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather rebuke them; for it is a shame even to name those things which are done in secret."

A difference between divine and philosophical precepts.

Herein may we easily perceive what difference there is between divine and philosophical precepts touching manners. For wheresoever the scripture exhorteth men to good works, it adjoineth by and by something out of the first table of the ten commandments: as for example, of the fear of God, of faith, of charity, of obedience toward God, of his promises and threats, of Christ's benefits toward his servants, and of his punishments toward the obstinate and rebellious: which thing profane writers do not touch, when they entreat of civil duties. They speak not a word in their precepts of the will of God, of the worshipping of God, neither of faith, which is the mother of all christian virtues. Neither do they teach men to do well for God's honour and glory, which thing is chiefly inculcate in the scriptures: neither do they refer all things to one God, neither make him the end of their actions,

neither yet do they look for rewards at his hands. So that briefly and by these few words we may see an apparent difference between the philosophical and apostolical precepts concerning virtue.

Coloss. iii. The same Apostle writeth also to the Colossians, saying: "Mortify therefore your members which are upon earth, fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is worshipping of images: for which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience: in which you also walked sometime, when ye lived in them. But now put ye off also all wrath, fierceness, maliciousness, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth. Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his work; and have put on the new man, which is renewed into knowledge, after the image of him that made him: where is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond, free, but Christ is all and in all. Put on therefore as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, even so do ye. And above all things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. And let the peace of God have the victory in your hearts, to the which also we are called in one body; and see that ye be thankful." That which the Apostle nameth

unto the Romans the mortifying of the body through the Spirit, he doth explain, saying, that it is no other thing than to master the lusts of the flesh, whereof he rehearseth divers sorts: and elsewhere he calleth them the works of the flesh, with whom we ought to contend and wrestle in such sort, that sin may not rule in our mortal bodies; that we should not "give over our members as weapons of unrighteousness to sin; but that we should yield ourselves to God, and our members armour of righteousness."

The same Apostle continuing his exhortation addeth: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing your own selves in psalms, in hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts unto the Lord. And whatsoever you do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him." And to the Thessalonians: "We beseech you, brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more as ye have received of us: for ye know what commandments we gave you in the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, even your holiness, that you should abstain from fornication: that every one of you should know how to keep his vessel in holiness and honour; not in the lusts of concupiscence, even as the gentiles, which know not God: that no man oppress and defraud his brother in any matter: because that the Lord is the avenger of all such, as we also have forewarned you and testified. For God hath not called us unto

1 Thess iv.
2 Thess. iii.

uncleanness, but unto holiness." And to Titus he writeth thus: "For there hath appeared the grace of God, which is healthful to all men; Teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world: Looking for that blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; which gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all unrighteousness, and purge us a peculiar people to himself, zealous of good works. These things speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, &c."

In these few words the Apostle declareth very plainly, what manner of life a christian man ought to lead: expressing the chief and principal virtues both toward God and man. First, he would have us live soberly, that is to say, honestly, shamefacedly, chastely, temperately, and frugally; not uncomely, not wantonly, not immodestly, not incontinently: wherein he exhorteth us to subdue and vanquish all kind of concupiscence and lusts, and to withdraw as it were our mind from the society and contagion of the body. Secondarily, he willeth us to live justly with our neighbour, that is, innocently, gently, meekly: not to covet any man's goods, not to be injurious to any man; but to render unto every man his own, to profit whom we can; and, to conclude, as we would wish that other men should deal with us, let us even so deal with them; and that which we would not have others to offer unto us, let us not offer to do unto any.

Thirdly, he calleth on us to live godly and religiously toward God: that is, in the true knowledge of God, in worshipping and serving of God according to his will, in giving him thanks for his benefits, in following virtues, and in fleeing of vices; in dieting all our words and works to his honour and glory. For this is true piety and godliness.

Two things there are, which are needful for us to regard in the execution of these things: the one hindering, the other helping us, in doing of honest actions and virtues. One which especially hindereth is wicked and ungodly company, from the which we ought to sequester ourself, and to keep company with those that be good; and, as one doth admonish us, to be conversant either with those whom we may amend, or who may amend us. Neither ought any man to think, that good custom and company are in small moment to practise virtue. For as with the fellowship of evil men we are infected (as it were) with some contagion; even so with the daily conversation of those that fear God we are reformed and amended. If our desire then be to live well, let us haunt and frequent honest and godly men's company: whereunto we are exhorted by the wise Salomon. "Come not," saith he, "into the path of the ungodly, nor walk in the way of the wicked." And St Paul, writing to the Corinthians, is so earnest in persuading men to avoid evil company, that he would not have men to eat and drink with such: "If any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or coveteous, or a worship-

Two things to be considered in this matter.

First hinderances and impediments.

Prov. i. iv.

1 Cor. v.

per of idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with him that is such eat not."

Evil company to be avoided.

I am not ignorant that there are some other causes, why such men's companies should be avoided, either to declare that we mislike their conversation, or else that they moved with shame should amend; but surely this is not the least cause, lest we should be infected with their naughty company. For as a little leaven maketh a great lump of dough sour; even so the example of one man oftentimes corrupteth many.

Ecclus. xii.

The words of the wise man are notable and worthy to be marked: "Who will have pity upon the charmer that is stinged with the serpent, or of all such as come nigh the beasts? Even so is it of him that keepeth company with an evil man, and lappeth himself in his sins." "Whoso toucheth pitch, shall be defiled therewith. As the wolf agreeth with the lamb, so doth the ungodly with the righteous." We know that "under good trees all kind of beasts rest and shadow themselves; but under thorns and brambles there come nothing commonly but serpents[1]." Even so good men and bad may dwell nigh the godly; but there is no peace nigh godless and graceless persons, but only for serpents, that is to say, for devils, who as in a mansion dwell in their hearts. And in the matter it cometh to pass, "as in pestilent and contagious places, where the air

Ecclus. xiii.

Chrysost. in 7 Matth. Hom. xix.

Basi. mag. Quod Deus non sit auctor mali, et Procopius in Gen. cap. 3.

[1 Sub arbore bona et bestiæ et animalia requiescunt: sub spinis autem nullum animal requiescere potest, nisi tantummodo serpentes.—Chrysost. Opp. Par. 1718—38. Op. Imp. in Matt. Hom. xix. ex cap. vii. Tom. VI. p. xcv.]

being taken and drawn casteth men's bodies into sudden sickness; even so through wicked company many evils and mischiefs are learned, albeit the inconvenience be not felt in the beginning[2]." It may haply seem hard to some men to shake off old and familiar acquaintance, with whom we have lived pleasantly long and many years: yet we ought to labour and wrestle to avoid those hurtful and dangerous companies.

A notable example of king Henry in casting off evil company.

Amongst many examples whereby we may the rather be induced to follow this precept, there can none be found more memorable than that of Henry, the fifth king of England of that name; of whom the chronicles write after this manner: "This was the man indeed, who taught even at the first, that honours ought to change manners. For as soon as he was crowned king, considering how expedient it was for him to begin a new trade of life, he removed and expelled far from his court all such as were his mates and companions with him in his youthful days, which are

Polyd. in Hen. V.

[2 ὡς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς νοσοποιοῖς χωρίοις ὁ κατὰ μέρος ἀναπνεόμενος ἀὴρ λανθάνουσαν νόσον τοῖς ἐνδιαιτωμένοις ἐναποτίθεται, οὕτως ἡ πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα συνήθεια μεγάλα κακὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐναφίησι, κἂν τὴν παραυτίκα αἴσθησιν τὸ βλαβερὸν διαφεύγῃ.—Basil. Hom. *Quod Deus, &c.* Opp. Basileæ, 1551. p. 165.

Quapropter pulchre se habet illa sententia, Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia prava. Quemadmodum ex parum salubribus locis aër homines afflans clandestinos morbos hominibus suo afflatu concitat; sic usu venire solet ex pravis colloquiis et commercio pessimorum hominum.—Procop. Gaz. in Octateuch. Comm. (No place or date given, only Apud Gesneros fratres.) In Gen. cap. iii. p. 70.]

commonly spent in looseness and wantonness; and appointed in their rooms grave, prudent, and valiant counsellors. He knew right well, that it was beseeming a prince to excel other men in courage, counsel, gravity and carefulness; and that a kingdom is rather a burden than an honour: and therefore, distrusting his own wit, he thought good to have about him such men as might help him in tolerating that burden, and by whose advice [he might] not only rule others, but himself also, and become a singular spectacle and example to his subjects. For evil princes do oftentimes hurt more with their example than with the fact itself: for there are always many followers of princes' fashions; whereby it cometh to pass (as Cicero writeth), that the evil fact of a prince is not so great (albeit great enough in itself), as in that he corrupteth others; and is the cause that as the prince changeth his life, so do the people change their manners. Verily he that ruleth is therefore advanced and honoured, to govern providently, to correct and reform the manners of the people, and to care for those things which may be honourable for himself and profitable for his people; not to put chief felicity in pleasures, which are common with the vulgar and rascal sort. Which things if he will not, care not, or cannot do, surely then he is rather to be accounted a servant than a prince. And what can be more dishonourable for him that should govern others, to be governed himself as a pupil, being now past nonage? Such a

one was Richard the Second, who at the first gave good hope to many, but in the end was subverted by wicked companions and counsellors. Much like unto him was Edward the Second. But both of them had an unhappy end: by whose examples haply king Henry being taught to beware, abandoned such old acquaintance of his as were given to filthy pleasure, and planted in their places virtuous and noble counsellors[1]."

That speech uttered by a certain ethnick is profitable for us to remember, that we may the rather avoid wicked company: "We receive fashions and conditions of our companions; and as diseases pass from one body to another by touching, even so doth the mind pour her infections into her neighbour[2]." The drunkard leadeth his guests into drunkenness. Effeminate men and softlings cause the stout man to wax tender. Covetousness transferreth her poison into cohabitants. And on the other side, the force of virtue hath her effect. Now if our old acquaintance, together with their pastimes and pleasures, with other their youthful and ruffians' tricks, come unto our mind, let us then appose and set against them the vanity of pleasure and the continuance of the shame: let us consider the shortness of our life, the uncertainty of the hour of death, the dreadful day of doom, and the endless torments of hell. So shall

Idem habet Sene. Epist. Lib. II. Epi. 59. et de Tranquillit. Vitæ, Lib. I. cap. 7.

[1 Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hist. Lib. XXII. init. p. 439. Basil. 1556.]

[2 Sen. de Tranquill. Animi, cap. VII.]

we, according to the proverb, with one nail drive out another; so that, if old pleasures and delights tickle us, let us reason thus with ourselves: My old mates and companions do allure me to accustomed pleasures: but my Saviour biddeth me beware that my heart be not oppressed with surfeiting; and the holy Apostle St Paul willeth me not to oppress myself "with wine, wherein is riot;" and again, "Gluttons and drunkards shall not be heirs of God's kingdom." And St Peter biddeth me to "be sober and watch." And the prophet crieth in my ears, "Woe be unto those that arise early in the morning to follow drunkenness!" By this means God's Spirit shall strengthen our reason to overcome lusts; and our will shall follow and obey right understanding. And indeed we may not forget at any time, that it is our parts to give ear to the voice of God, and to stop our ears against loose and vain pleasures; to obey the holy angel aiding and guiding us, and to withstand the foul fiend tempting us. Which things if we weigh and ponder aright, [we] shall soon withdraw ourselves from wicked fellowship and company, and easily prefer endless bliss before vain and momentary pleasures.

Luke xxi.

1 Pet. v.

Isai. v.

The second let is idleness.

Another great obstacle there is, that detaineth men from good and virtuous actions, to wit, idleness and recklessness, whereunto our nature is exceedingly given. There is one that sheweth very finely, that love and filthy lust can have no place with those who eschew idleness, and are always

Lucianus in dialog. Veneris et Cupid.

busied about some [thing]. For out of all doubt idleness breedeth in us a desire of banqueting, of pleasant and wanton company, and leadeth us headlong into all kind of lust and intemperancy. We shall do then very well to be diligent in the works of our vocation; if we study, and read the word of God, if we pray incessantly, if we crave his daily aid, if we be thankful unto him for his goodness; and, to conclude, if we occupy ourselves always about some good thing. And if haply we have nothing to do at home (which notwithstanding will argue our evil husbandry), let us repair unto the church, and hear common prayer and sermons: let us confer with our friends about matters of divinity; let us visit the sick and comfortless: so shall we not faint and fall under the temptations of Satan. Cato his saying is much commended, "In doing nothing a man shall learn to do evil:" according to that of the holy man, "Every idle man is busied in the desire of pleasures."

Exhortations to labour and diligence.

Hereof proceed those often and earnest exhortations in the holy scriptures to care, vigilancy, and diligence. As that parable of our Saviour, of a man going into a far country, who at his departure delivered certain goods unto his servants, and at his return willed those whom he found diligent to enter into the joy of their master. And so the Apostle exhorteth him that ruleth to "rule with diligence:" and again, "Diligent in study, and fervent in the spirit." The prophet Jeremy pronounceth him ac-

Rom. xii.

cursed that "doeth his master's business fraudulently."

Many such speeches occur in the holy scripture, which stir up those that are regenerate in Christ to do their duty, to carefulness, to avoid sin, and to desire to live well. And surely it is lamentable to consider, how rare this virtue of study and diligence is now-a-days amongst those that desire to be accounted Christians; seeing that without we use the same in the regiment of our life, God will neither hear our prayers, nor guide us with his holy Spirit. Let us shake off therefore this reckless slothfulness, and conjoin our labour with God's help, in subduing natural corruption, and repressing our carnal lusts, in avoiding the enticements of the world, and in resisting the temptations of Satan. Let us not think that God will absolve the matter, if we sleep; but let us, as Christ saith, "set our hands to the plough," and, according to that of the Apostle, "with trembling and fear work our salvation." For those that are careless in this world, and suffer sin to bear dominion in their mortal bodies, or run headlong after the lusts of the flesh and delights of the world, do without doubt make the Holy Ghost sorrowful, driving him away from them, and, being so forsaken of God, perish through their own default. Labour therefore and care is most needful in the regiment of our life, and in all our counsels and actions: for wheresoever our Saviour Christ commandeth us to watch (which he does in many places of the gospel,) there he awaketh men snorting and

sleeping in sin; he shaketh off security, he kindleth men (as it were) to diligence and care for their salvation.

And these are the chief lets and impediments that hinder men from the execution of virtue: it now remaineth, that I also shew helps and furtherances to the same.

Contemplations of heavenly things do further to virtue.

If recklessness and carelessness of our duty be a mother of sin and impiety, then a diligent consideration of the same must needs be a nurse of virtue and godliness. Let us then have always a diligent meditation of heavenly things, from whence we draw our origin and offspring. For it behoveth a Christian to advance and lift up his mind from earthly things, and to meditate heavenly things: in which consideration the godly are often pierced with such joy, that they bray (as it were) and pant to see him face to face, whom[1] they presently behold but in part, and as it were in a riddle. Such a desire was in those three disciples, who were with Christ in the mountain in his transfiguration, when as they saw Elias and Moses, unknown unto them, with spiritual eyes, as the christian poet writeth[2]:

Ignotis oculis viderunt, lumine cordis.

At what time Peter ravished said, "It is good for us to abide here." This study and contemplation of divine and heavenly things breedeth those three worthy and excellent virtues, commonly coupled together; I

Three principal helps to virtue.

[1 When, 1576.]

[2 Sedulius. Carm. Lib. III. Tom. v. p. 338. of the Collectio Pisaurensis.]

mean, prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds; which never go alone, but have many other virtues attending upon them. Of which notable ornaments of all true Christians I will say somewhat, but briefly, and so much only as may seem to serve this my present purpose.

Of prayer. I call invocation of God's name, or prayer, an elevation or lifting up of our minds to God, when we are desirous to obtain any thing at his hand; namely, to give us good things, and to turn evil things away from us. Christ himself hath commanded us to desire such things in many places of scripture (all which to recite were a matter needless), and hath promised that our prayers

Matt. vii. should not be denied. "Ask," saith he, "and it shall be given unto you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." And in another place he bindeth himself as it were with an oath to hear us,

Luke xi. saying: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name, he will give it you." And the prophet David: "He doeth the will of those that fear him, and heareth their prayers, and saveth them." But of all places which declare the virtue and efficacy of prayer, that

Ecclus. xxxv. of Sirach is most notable, continued almost through one chapter, and addeth this saying as a clause unto the rest: "The prayer of him that humbleth himself goeth through the clouds: till she come nigh, she will not be comforted, nor go her way; till the highest God have respect unto her, give true sentence, and perform the judgment."

Of this matter Chrysostom also writeth

worthily: "If thou enjoy prosperity, pray to God that it may be firm and stable[1]." If thou fear a great tempest, pray to him to blow over the same. If thou art heard, be thankful: if thou be not heard, yet persevere that thou mayest be heard. For if the Lord defer a certain space, he doth it not enviously, but to keep thee with him longer. And in another place: "As the body being knit together with sinews is firm; but if you cut the same, the harmony of the body is dissolved: even so devout minds continue firm through prayer. But if you take from them prayer, then they are much like fishes taken out of the water[2]." For as the water is unto them life, so are prayers to the soul.

Hom. de profectu in evang.

Hom. de diversis.

Secondarily, I would have men to use often fasting, which is not a choice of some certain sorts of meats, but a perpetual sobriety and temperance of life, to the end they may the rather bridle and keep under carnal lusts and concupiscences. Our Sa-

Fasting.

[1 Ἀεὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως εὔχεσθαι χρὴ...τὸν μὲν ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ πολλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἵνα ἀκίνητα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα ταῦτα μένῃ καὶ μηδέποτε μεταπέσῃ.—Chrysost. Opp. Par. 1718-38. De Prof. Evang. Tom. III. p. 308.]

[2 ὥσπερ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν νεύρων συνέχεται, καὶ τρέχει, καὶ ἵσταται, καὶ ζῇ, καὶ πέπηγεν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτά τις ἐκτέμῃ, πᾶσαν τὴν ἁρμονίαν διαλύει τοῦ σώματος· οὕτως αἱ ψυχαὶ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων προσευχῶν ἁρμόζονται, καὶ συνεστήκασι, καὶ τὸν δρόμον τῆς εὐσεβείας τρέχουσιν εὐχερῶς· ἂν δὲ τῆς προσευχῆς ἀποστερήσῃς σαυτὸν, ταυτὸν ποιήσεις, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τὸν ἰχθὺν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐξήγαγες.—Id. ib. De Precat. Orat. ii. Tom. II. p. 785. These orations *De Precat.* are placed among the *dubia* by the Benedictine editor.]

Luke xxi.

viour Christ therefore biddeth us beware that our hearts be not oppressed with surfeiting. And his Apostle: "Oppress not yourself with wine, wherein is riot." Fasting is commended unto us in the examples of Moses, Elias, Daniel, Christ, and his Apostles. Let us never forget that woe of

Isai. v.

the prophet: "Woe be unto those that rise early in the morning to follow drunkenness!"

Lib. 3. de virg. velandis.

And that of Ambrose is worthy remembrance: "Use a little wine to avoid infirmity, not to augment pleasure: wine and youth kindle a flame. But fasting doth bridle young years; and a spare diet doth

Hom. 58. in Matth.

keep under lust and carnality[1]." And St Chrysostom: "He that coupleth fasting and prayer hath two wings, which will make him able to pass the winds in swiftness[2]."

Alms-deeds.

Thirdly, alms-deeds are commendable and needful: and it is to be observed, that of these three virtues, prayer is properly referred unto God, fasting to ourselves, and alms to our neighbour. And for that many now-a-days do err and are deceived in the name of alms, thinking that to be only when a piece of money, meat, or cloth, is given unto the poor; I think it not amiss

[1 Modico itaque vino utere, ne infirmitatem corporis augeas, non ut voluptatem excites; incendunt enim pariter duo, vinum et adolescentia. Infrænent etiam teneram ætatem jejunia, et parsimonia cibi retinaculis quibusdam indomitas cohibeat cupiditates. —Ambros. de Virgin. Lib. III. cap. ii. init. Opp. Tom. III. p. 243. Par. 1836.]

[2 Ὁ εὐχόμενος μετὰ νηστείας διπλᾶς ἔχει τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων αὐτῶν κουφοτέρας.—Chrysost. Hom. in Matth. LVII. (al. LVIII.) Tom. VII. p. 581.]

to put down Augustine's mind touching this matter; who doth not account only those vulgar matters to be alms, which I rehearsed before, but these also, "to forgive the offender, to amend others with reprehension and correction: for many alms are given to those that are unwilling to receive them, when we rather respect men's welfare than wilfulness[3]." Touching the commendation of this virtue, let us hearken to the prophet, saying: "Break thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor and stranger into thy house; when thou seest one naked, cover him, and despise not thine own flesh: then shalt thou pray, and the Lord shall hear thee." And Salomon: "Give of thy firstfruits unto the poor: so shall it come to pass that thy barns shall be filled, and thy wine-press with wine." And again: "He that giveth unto the poor lendeth unto the Lord." And Tobias: "Prayer with alms and fasting is very good." Basilius Magnus openeth with a fine similitude, how acceptable alms is unto almighty God. "Even as seed," saith he, "which is cast into the ground, bring-

Enchirid. ad Laurentium, cap. 72.

Isai. [lviii.]

Prov. [iii. xix.]

Tob. [xii.]

In Lucam.

[3 Non solum autem qui dat esurienti cibum, sitienti potum, nudo vestimentum, peregrinanti hospitium, fugienti latibulum, ægro vel incluso visitationem, captivo redemptionem, debili subvectionem, cæco deductionem, tristi consolationem, non sano medelam, erranti viam, deliberanti consilium, et quod cuique necessarium est indigenti: verum etiam et qui dat veniam peccanti, eleemosynam dat; et qui emendat verbere in quem potestas datur, vel coercet aliqua disciplina.....Multa enim bona præstantur invitis, quando eorum consulitur utilitati, non voluntati.—August. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. LXXII. Opp. Tom. III. p. 68. Colon. Agripp. 1616.]

eth increase to the sower, so doth alms bring forth great commodity afterward[1]." And Lactantius: "If the worshippers of false gods do deck and trim idols and images, and bestow upon them the most precious thing they have; which things can neither give them thanks, nor yet use those things that are put upon them; how much beseeming Christians is it to deck and trim the images of the living God! who as they are both able to use them, and to be thankful for them, even so God, in whose sight thou doest those things, will both allow thy fact, and requite thee with reward[2]."

Lib. vi. cap. 13.

In giving alms we ought to be liberal of our own.

But amongst many cautions in giving of alms, this is not the least or last to be observed of faithful Christians: that we be liberal and bountiful toward the poor of our own goods, truly gotten; and that we spoil not one to relieve another. Wherefore if any man have unjustly gotten any

Aug. Enchirid. 22.3

[1 Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ σῖτος εἰς τὴν γῆν πεσὼν κέρδος τῷ προεμένῳ γίνεται, οὕτως ὁ ἄρτος εἰς τὸν πεινῶντα καταβληθεὶς πολύχουν τὴν ὠφελείαν εἰς ὕστερον ἀναδίδωσιν.—Basil. Magn. Hom. de Avarit. (in Luc. xii.) Opp. Basileæ. 1551. p. 153.]

[2 Nam si deorum cultores simulacra insensibilia excolunt, et quicquid pretiosi habent, in ea conferunt, quibus nec uti possunt, nec gratias agere, qui acceperint; quanto justius est et verius viventia Dei simulacra excolere, ut promereare viventem! Quæ sicut usui habent quicquid acceperint, et gratias agunt; ita Deus, in cujus conspectu bonum feceris, probabit et mercedem pietatis exsolvet.—Lactant. Divin. Institut. Lib. vi. de Vero Cultu. cap. 13. fin.]

[3 Possumus enim et furando aliquando alicui prodesse, si pauper cui palum datur sentit commodum, et dives cui elam tollitur non sentit incommodum: nec ideo tale furtum quisquam dixerit non esse peccatum.—August. Enchirid. cap. xxii.]

goods, he ought rather to restore the same to the true owner than to succour needy strangers therewith. Tobias therefore charged his son to give alms of his own substance. And Salomon: "Honour God with thy own substance, and give unto the poor of the fruits of thy own corn." And Zacheus the publican, when he had promised to give half of his goods to the poor, he addeth, that "if he had done any man wrong, he would make restitution fourfold."

Tob. ii.

Prov. iii.

Luke xix.

Some man, desirous to find a cloke to cover his extortion, may peradventure object that of our Saviour: "Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon;" and again, the commendation of the unjust steward, that he had done very wisely. But the answer is plain and easy: that he nameth mammon (which in the Syriac tongue signifieth riches) unrighteousness, either because they are commonly gotten unjustly; whereof cometh that speech, "A rich man is either unjust, or the heir of an unjust man:" or else, because they are the occasions of many mischiefs: or else, for that the abuse of them is diverse and manifold in this our nature depraved with original sin, the parent of all evil and wickedness. For whereas we should use riches modestly as our servants, for our own and our neighbour's behalf; we abuse the same in prodigality and lasciviousness, and turn often God's gifts to his reproach. Christ's meaning therefore was not that men should injuriously get riches to give alms thereof, neither is it needful that all parts

Luke xvi.

Mammon.

of the parable should be like: for in the application of a similitude we ought to ponder the principal scope, and not to respect any[1] circumstance and particle. The chief state or scope of the similitude is not in the collation of a fraudulent mind, not in infidelity or theft, but in the wise and provident forecare in purchasing friends, whose example therein our Saviour would have us to follow. He did this that, being put out of his office, those whom he had gratified would receive him into their houses. This ought we to do in spiritual matters, that when we shall have need, we may be received into everlasting tabernacles. Christ our Saviour blameth then[2] in that place man's contempt of celestial and eternal things; whose diligence and care is great and always busied about things needful for his body, which are but worldly and temporal.

The day of doom to be considered.

But to return to my matter, which is, that we ought to be Christians, not only in word, but also in deed: that we may be feared from vice, and allured to virtue, let us set before our eyes always that dreadful day, which the prophet together with the apostle nameth the day of affliction and anguish, the day of calamity and misery, the day of darkness and blackness, the day of cloud and whirlwind; when as God shall reward unto every man according to his work. Again, let the joys of heaven and crown of glory allure us to virtue and godliness, whereof the prophet also and the apostle speaketh thus: "The eye hath not

[1 every?] [2 them, 1576.]

seen, the ear hath not heard, neither have the joys entered into man's heart, which God hath prepared for them that love him." Let us remember that we must once, will we, nill we, forsake this world, but we wot not when nor how soon. "Death," as one writeth, "by means of uncertain chances is always imminent[3];" at what time God will requite every man according to his deserts; either with plagues and punishments endless in justice, or joys and blisses eternal in mercy. Let us then be alway ready against that day, and joyfully look for death, which can never be far absent, by the example of St Paul, who desired "to be loosed and to be with Christ:" which thing cannot come to pass in us, unless we lead our life according to God's will, and repose all trust of salvation in the mercy of God through the merits of Christ. And if at any time we slip, and slide into sin and iniquity, (as by nature we are prone to do evil;) yet let us not suffer that to rule in our mortal body, but endeavour to salve such sores with good deeds, and with repentance and newness of life.

Seneca.

Phil. i.

But most part of mortal men now-a-days have no regard at all of temperance and sobriety, but give themselves to rioting and surfeiting, and run headlong into all kind of mischief, having no fear of God before their eyes: they follow their filthy lusts, they snatch, they steal, they swear and forswear, they lie, they deceive, and, to be short, do all things saving that which is law-

The wickedness of our time.

[3 Sen. Controvers. XVI.]

ful. And yet in the mean time they will needs be accounted Christians, and gospellers, and earnest favourers of true religion. But Christians ought not be moved with these worldly and wicked examples; but bend all their power to live godly and holily, to follow the will of their heavenly Father, and with a certain liberal and commendable fear of God to be detained from doing of evil: lest they either should give an occasion to the adversary to slander their profession; or lest the name of God should for them[1] be evil spoken of amongst the gentiles. And if at any time unawares, or through human imbecility, they fall and go astray; they will immediately acknowledge their error, and pacify their merciful Father through true repentance, and with their hearty prayers procure his mercy toward them. For he is gentle and ready to forgive, if he see us sorry and penitent; and as "if we have offended grievously, so if we lament our faults bitterly[2]," according as St Cyprian writeth. Whereunto we may add this, as a special consolation and comfort, that we have a mediator in heaven, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our advocate and patron, to purchase peace for us, and to make an atonement between his Father and us.

Against presumption in God's mercy.

In which consolation and comfort, notwithstanding, all faithful Christians ought to have this caution; not so to trust in God's

[1 them that be, 1576.]

[2 Quam magna deliquimus, tam granditer defleamus. Alto vulneri diligens et longa medicina non desit. Pœnitentia crimine minor non sit.—Cypr. de Laps. prop. fin. p. 98. Oxon. 1700.]

mercy, that they either fall into presumption, or to live negligently and carnally, or not gospel-like. For there are many now-a-days, that flatter and deceive themselves, whiles they greedily embrace all such sentences in the bible, which set out God's great mercy; but in the mean season neglect and pass over lightly such places, as exhort them to newness and holiness of life. The Lord is merciful indeed, but to those that repent. The Lord would not the death of a sinner; but he would also that he should convert and live. He that witnesseth Christ to be the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, doth also will us to repent our former lives, and to bring forth fruits worthy repentance. He that affirmeth us to be saved through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, exhorteth us also to repent and convert, that our sins may be done away. He that saith that "Christ came into this world to save sinners," doth also say that fornicators and adulterers, and other heinous offenders, "cannot inherit the kingdom of Christ." He that writeth that Christ did "bear our sins in his body upon the cross," doth add also "that we should die to sin, and live to righteousness." He that witnesseth that Christ gave himself for us, annexeth, "that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify a people peculiar to himself, following good works." He that saith that Christ died for us, addeth also, "that those that live should not live unto themselves, but to him that died and rose again for them." Hereunto serveth that of Ezechiel the prophet: "If the

Ezek. iii. xviii. xxxiii.

wicked man repent him of all his sins, and keep all my precepts, and do justice and judgment, he shall live and not die."

By which words we may easily gather that he cannot trust in God's mercy, that doth not repent him of his wickedness: neither can he be rightly called a penitent person, or a Christian, that persevereth in ungodliness: neither can sound and perfect faith be in him, who wittingly and willingly worketh against the testimony of his own conscience. Let us not be Christians therefore in name and title only; neither brag and boast of faith with bare words: but let us repent truly, and from the bottom of our heart; let us turn to God in deed, and correct vices with virtues, and with holy life and conversation abolish the remembrance of our sins and iniquity. Let those words of Christ be always in our minds: "Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven." And if we believe that which St Paul saith to be true, "that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners;" let us also believe that other speech of his, that "witches, adulterers, fornicators, murderers, thieves, extortioners, covetous persons, proud men, drunkards, backbiters, contentious men, shall not inherit the kingdom of God and Christ." And surely, if we persuade ourselves that St Paul saith true, as well in the one place as in the other; we shall easily perceive, that wicked livers cannot conceive any hope of God's mercy and of eternal life: for, as faith

1 Tim. i.

1 Cor. vi.

Rev. xx.

believeth that God is merciful to the penitent, so doth it tell us, that he is a punisher of the impenitent.

There is no cause then for sinful men to presume on God's mercy: they must repent, and amend their lives, before they take comfort of that matter. Ambrose hath included them both in one sentence, whiles that he saith, "No man can rightly repent, unless he trust in God's mercy[1]." So no man can trust in God's mercy, unless he repent. That saying of the Hebrew is memorable, and never to be forgotten: "Say not, Tush, the mercy of the Lord is great, he shall forgive me my sins, be they never so many: for like as he is merciful, so goeth wrath from him also, and his indignation cometh down upon sinners. Make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord, and put not off from day to day: for suddenly shall his wrath come, and in the time of vengeance he shall destroy thee." Let every man therefore have good regard for himself, that his christian profession be confirmed with christian conversation, that his work answer to his word, his deed to his title. Let every man beware of presumption in God's mercy. Let them take heed that through carnal security and contempt of the gospel they fall not away from the spirit to the flesh, from heaven to the world, and from God to Belial. Let them take heed that they make not a mock of the passion of Christ, that they tread not

Ambrose.

[Eccius. v.]

[1 Nemo enim potest bene agere pœnitentiam, nisi qui speraverit indulgentiam.—Ambros. de Pœnit. Lib. i. cap. i. fin.]

his blood under their feet, that, being purified and washed with his precious blood, they wallow not wilfully in sin and wickedness, and of the children of God become by their own default the bond-slaves of Satan, and firebrands of hell everlastingly.

And hitherto I have spoken of a christian man's duty privately toward himself, and publicly toward others. Now remaineth the last part of the duty of a Christian, living either in the estate ecclesiastical, political, or œconomical: in one of the which three callings all good men endeavour to lead their lives, as the scopes and ends whereunto all man's studies and labours are to be directed and referred. But because that matter requireth a long and diligent tractation, if God permit, I will handle the same in another volume.

Glory be to God.

An Addition translated out of that learned Father of the Greek church, Clemens Alexandrinus, who wrote within three hundred years after Christ: wherein the whole duty of a christian man is comprehended in a brief sum, necessarily serving for the practice of such precepts as are contained in the former treatise[1].

Ex Lib. iii. Pædagogi. cap. 12.

Let every man then learn his duty, and "pass the time of his pilgrimage in fear and humility; knowing that we are redeemed not with corruptible things, of silver and gold, but with the precious blood of the immaculate and unspotted Lamb, Jesus Christ." "For it is sufficient that we have spent the time that is past of the life after the will of the gentiles, walking in wantonness, lusts, in excess of wines, in excess of eating, in excess of drinking, and abominable idolatry." We have Christ his cross as our mark and limit, with whom we are crucified, and by whom we have remission of our former sins.

1 Pet. i.

1 Pet. iv.

Let us fix our minds therefore upon the truth; let us repent and amend our lives. For "the eyes of the Lord are open upon the just, and his ears unto their prayers. The countenance of the Lord is upon them that do evil. And who is it that will hurt you, if you do well?" The best education or institution is moderation, which is perfit comeliness, together with stable and ordinary

Psal. xxxiii. 1 Pet. iii.

[1 This "Addition" is an abridged translation of the *Pædagogus* of Clemens Alexandrinus, Lib. III. cap. xii.]

power; rightly distributing those things that are coherent amongst themselves. Now if you do not mark those precepts which are given, you shall die the death: but if you do attend, you shall enjoy the blessings of the earth,—meaning, no doubt, health, wealth, riches, food, and strength. For those be true and perfit good things, which neither the "eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither yet hath entered into the heart of man." But to return to the way and life of a perfit Christian: the heavenly scholar comprehendeth briefly his office and duty: "As you would that men should do unto you, even so do you unto them." And, as Christ himself saith, all the commandments may be referred to these two precepts: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might; and thy neighbour as thyself: for herein consist the law and the prophets." And when one asked him, what he should do to possess eternal life, he answered: "Knowest thou the commandments?" and when he said, "Yea," "Do this," quoth he, "and thou shalt be saved."

Prov. xxiv. Isai. v. Ezek. xviii.

Isai. i.

1 Cor. ii.

Matt. v.

Matt. xxii.

But we will more particularly lead you through the plentiful store of treasures, to the end you may have alway some wholesome precepts in readiness. First, let us behold the decalogue given by Moses: "Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not worship idols, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, honour thy father and thy mother;" with

Matt. xix. Exod. ii. et xx. Deut. v.

many other such precepts as are contained in his holy law. And by the mouth of his prophet Esaias he saith: "Wash yourselves, and be clean, and take away the foreskin of your hearts from before my eyes: learn to do good, seek judgment, deliver him that suffereth wrong, help the fatherless to his right, let the widow's complaint come before you." And then, "Go to," saith the Lord, "let us talk together." Many other like precepts occur every where: as for example sake, of prayer and good works. The holy scripture much commendeth prayer, and the form or manner of making our prayers is expressed. "When thou seest the naked, cover him, and hide not thyself from thy own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health flourish right shortly: righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall embrace thee. Then if thou callest, the Lord shall answer thee; if thou criest, he shall say, Here I am." And of fasting he speaketh thus: "Behold, when you fast, your lust remaineth still; for you do no less violence to your debtors: lo, you fast to strife and debate, and to smite with your fist without mercy: now you shall not fast thus, that your voice may be heard above. Think you this fast pleaseth me, that a man should chasten himself for a day? and to hang down the head like a bulrush, and to lie upon the earth in an hair cloth? should that be called fasting, or a day that pleaseth the Lord? Doth not this fasting rather please me, that thou loose

Isai. i.

Acts i.
James iv.
Isai. lviii.

the wicked bands, that thou ease the overheavy burdens, that thou let the oppressed go free, and break all manner of yoke; to deal thy bread to the hungry, and to bring the poor wandering home unto thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh, &c."

And of sacrifices he speaketh thus also:

Isai. i. "Why offer ye many sacrifices unto me, will the Lord say? I am full of the burnt-offerings of wethers, I have no pleasure in the blood of bullocks, lambs, and goats. When ye come to appear before me, treading in my courts, who hath required this at your hands? Offer me no more oblations, for it is but lost labour: incense is an abominable thing unto me: I may not away with your new moons. When ye hold out your hands, I will turn mine eyes from you; and though you make many prayers, yet will I hear nothing at all; seeing your hands are full of blood." How shall I then

Psal. l. sacrifice unto the Lord? A contrite spirit is a sacrifice unto God. What incense shall I

Eccius. xxxv. offer unto the Lord? He is an odour of sweet smell unto the Lord, that glorifieth his Creator. And as concerning patience,

Matt. xviii. Christ himself saith: "If thy brother offend thee, rebuke him; and if he be sorry, forgive him. If he offend thee seven times in a day, and return seven times, saying, I am sorry, forgive him." The soldier hear-

Luke iii. eth, "Be content with your wages;" and the publicans, "Require no more than your duty." The judge hath this commandment: "Thou

shalt not accept one person in judgment. Bribes do blind the eyes of those that see, and corrupt just words, to deliver him that hath done wrong." Housekeepers and masters of families are taught, that "possession gotten with iniquity fleeteth away." Of charity it is written, that "love covereth the multitude of sins." Of magistrates it is written: "Give unto Cæsar those things which belong to Cæsar, and to God those things that are God's." Of oaths and remembering of injuries: "Have I commanded your fathers coming out of the land of Egypt, that they should offer sacrifice and burnt-offerings? but I commanded this rather, that every one should forget injuries and offences, and to love no untrue oath." Liars and proud men hear this threatening: "Woe unto those that call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet;" and again: "Woe be unto them that are wise in their own conceits;" and, "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted, and he that exalteth himself shall be brought low." Those that shew pity and mercy are pronounced blessed, because "they shall obtain mercy." Envy and displeasure is accounted a hurtful thing, because it destroyeth those that be wise. And as for enemies, we are commanded to love them, to bless those that curse us; and, "Unto him that smiteth thee upon the one cheek, offer unto him the other." Our servants are to be used gently; for they are men as we be, and "there is no respect of persons before God."

Deut. xvi.

Prov. xiii. xxviii. Hab. ii.

1 Pet. iv.

Matt. xxii.

Levit. xix. Ecclus. x.

Isai. v.

Luke xiv

Matt. v. Ecclus. iii.

Matt. v.

Vain-glory is also beaten down: "Woe

Luke xi. be unto you, Pharisees, because you love the highest seats in the synagogues, and salutations in the market-places." Of alms-deeds
Matt. xxv. it is written: "Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world: for I was hungry and you gave me meat; I was thirsty, and you gave me drink." Faith and truth in word and deed are highly
Eph. iv. commended: "Wherefore laying aside lies, let every one speak truth unto his neighbour, for we are members one of another: let not the sun set upon our wrath, neither let us give place to the devil. He that stole, let him steal no more, but rather let him labour with his hands, that he may be able to give unto the needy. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and fierceness, and cursed speaking, be removed from amongst you, with all that which is evil. Be gentle and merciful one toward another, doing good one to another, as Christ hath done good
Eph. v. unto you. Be you wise, and followers of God as dear children, and walk in love, as Christ hath loved you." "You wives, be subject to your own husbands, as unto the Lord. And, you husbands, love your wives,
Eph. vi. as Christ loved his church. You sons, obey your parents. Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. You servants, obey your masters after the flesh with trembling and fear, in simplicity of your hearts, as it were serving Christ from your hearts with good will. And you, masters, do well unto your servants, remit-

ting threats, knowing that both their master and yours is in heaven, and is no accepter of persons." "If we live in the spirit, let us walk in the spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain-glory, envying one another, and provoking one another. Let us bear one another's burden. Let us not deceive ourselves, for God is not deceived." And again: "We beseech you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, lift up the weak, be patient toward all men. See that none recompense evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves, and unto all men. Rejoice ever, pray continually, in all things give thanks; for it is the will of God in Christ Jesus toward you. Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesyings. Examine all things, hold fast that which is good; abstain from all appearance of evil." "Let your speech be always in grace, powdered with salt, to know how you ought to answer every man." And again: "Godliness is profitable to all things, having promises of the life that is now, and of that which is to come." And of servants it is written: "And they which have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather let them do service, forasmuch as they are believing and beloved, and partakers of the benefit." And that general exhortation is worthy remembrance: "Seeing that we have diverse gifts, according to the grace that is given unto us; either prophesy after the measure of faith, either office

Gal. v.

Gal. vi.

1 Thess. v.

Col. iv.

1 Tim. iv.

1 Tim. vi.

Rom. xii.

in administration, or he that teacheth, in teaching, or he that exhorteth, in exhorting, he that giveth, in singleness, he that ruleth, in diligence, he that is merciful, in cheerfulness. Love without dissimulation, hating evil, cleaving to good: affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in giving honour go one before another: not lyther in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord: rejoicing in hope, patient in trouble, instant in prayer, distributing to the necessity of saints, given to hospitality. Bless them which persecute you, bless and curse not. Rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep: being [1]like-affectioned one towards another: be not high-minded, but making yourselves equal to them of the lower sort; not wise in your own opinions. Recompense to no man evil for evil, providing aforehand things honest, not only before God, but also in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, have peace with all men."

These few things I have chosen from amongst many, out of the holy scripture, which I thought good to offer unto my scholars, that they might learn to pluck up sin and iniquity by the roots. The body of the holy scripture containeth a plentiful store of many other precepts, meet for all kinds and callings of men; for the clergy, and for the laity, for princes, for priests, for governors and for subjects: of the which occasion may peradventure be given to speak more aptly in another place.

[1] of like, 1576.]

Our heavenly Father hath left his will unto us in his holy word. And whereas the horse is broken with the bit and bridle, the ox with the yoke, the wild beast is caught with the net, the fish with the hook; he hath ordained his word to alter and transform reasonable men. Let us most humbly beseech him to give us his grace, that we may obey his word, and follow his precepts and commandments; that we may wade through the floods of sin, and come into the quiet haven of eternal peace, there to be thankful, and always to extol the heavenly Father, with his only Son, together with the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

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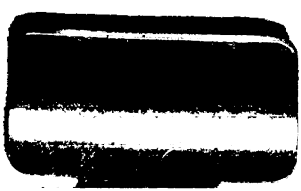
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